Thomas J. Dodd

LATE A SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES AND TRIBUTES

IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

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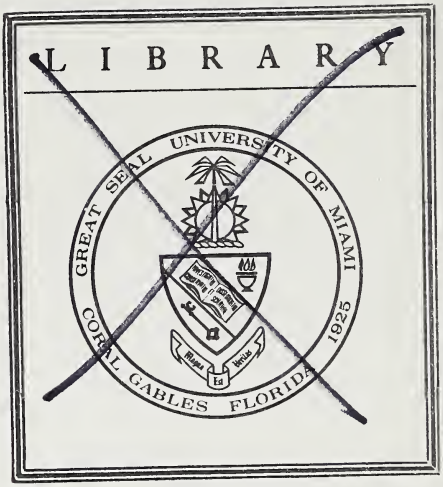
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92D CONGRESS, 2D SESSION SENATE DOCUMENT NO. 92-282

Memorial Addresses

AND

Other Tributes

IN THE

Congress of the United States

ON THE

LIFE AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF

Thomas J. Dodd

Ninety-second Congress

Second Session

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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Biography

THOMAS JOSEPH DODD was born in Norwich, New London County, Conn., May 15, 1907; attended the public schools; graduated from St. Anselm's Preparatory School in 1926, Providence College in 1930, and Yale University Law School in 1933; special agent for Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1933 and 1934; Connecticut director of National Youth Administration, 1935–38; assistant to five successive U.S. Attorneys General, 1938–45; vice chairman, Board of Review, and later executive trial counsel, Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality at Nürnberg, Germany, in 1945 and 1946 and was the recipient of Presidential Citation, U.S. Medal of Freedom, and several other awards for his work; engaged in private practice of law in Hartford, Conn., since 1947; delegate to the Democratic National Convention since 1936; elected as a Democrat to the 83d and 84th Congresses (Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1957); was not a candidate for renomination in 1956 but was unsuccessful for election to the U.S. Senate; elected to the U.S. Senate November 4, 1958, for the term commencing January 3, 1959, and ending January 3, 1965; reelected in 1964 for the term ending January 3, 1971; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1970 as an Independent to the U.S. Senate; was a resident of Old Lyme, Conn., until his death there, May 24, 1971; interment in St. Michael's New Cemetery, Pawcatuck, Conn.

PROCEEDINGS
IN THE
UNITED STATES SENATE

Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, *May 24, 1971.*

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, it is with deep regret that I announce the death of former Senator THOMAS J. DODD. He died of a heart attack this morning as his Old Lyme, Conn., home.

TOM DODD served Connecticut and this Nation well during a difficult period in American history. He spent nearly all his working life in public service—as FBI agent, Connecticut director of the National Youth Administration, assistant to the U.S. Attorneys General for 7 years, and as principal prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials on Axis criminality before his service in the Congress. During his 4 years in the Congress and 12 years in the U.S. Senate, Senator DODD labored hard and long for issues that others considered too controversial.

His advocacy of gun control legislation formed the foundation for the first comprehensive gun control law passed in 1968.

Likewise, TOM played a leading role in the adoption of a major revision in our drug laws and enactment of comprehensive crime control legislation.

I am profoundly saddened by the passing of this man who devoted his life to public service. He was both a colleague and a friend. I extend my deep sympathies to his devoted wife, Grace, and to his fine family.

Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Tunney). The resolution will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 127

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and regret the announcement of the death of Hon. THOMAS J. DODD, who served in the U.S. Senate from the State of Connecticut from 1959 to 1971.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 127) was considered and unanimously agreed to.

TUESDAY, *June 1, 1971.*

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, we were all saddened last week to hear of the death of our former colleague THOMAS DODD of Connecticut. In his long career he served in many capacities, not the least of which was his role as a prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials after the Second World War. The Genocide Convention is a direct result of the events that necessitated those trials, and of the principles that were established there. When he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1950 TOM DODD endorsed the Genocide Convention. It was his opinion that had it been in existence when Hitler first came to power the tragic events of his regime might have been prevented. None of us wish to see another Nuremberg. Let us act now to end the crime of genocide.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that former Senator DODD's statement be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT OF THOMAS DODD, MEMBER, SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE AND LAW THROUGH UNITED NATIONS OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

Mr. DODD. My name is THOMAS DODD of Hartford, Conn.

I appear primarily as a private citizen, but I am also a member of the American Bar Association special committee on peace and law through United Nations, which was heard here this afternoon through Messrs. Rix, Finch, and Schweppe.

I would like to tell you, sir, that I am a new member of the committee, having been appointed in October. So that I did not participate in the deliberations of the committee or in its recommendation to the bar association, and I have had no opportunity to do so since my appointment to the committee.

I am also, as you will recall, one who served with Justice Jackson as his executive trial counsel at the first major Nuremberg trial, so I have a triple interest in this proposed convention—in my private capacity as a citizen; now a member of the bar association on peace and law, and also as one who had something to do with the proceedings in the first and so-called major trial at Nuremberg. I will not take but a few minutes, because I realize the hour is late and that much has been covered with respect to what I might say, but I would like to point out a few things that occurred to me while I was listening.

Senator McMahon. I might add you had a very distinguished record in the Nuremberg trial.

Mr. Dodd. Thank you, sir. Because we have mentioned the Nuremberg trial, let me say this: It is a little bit out of place from what I had planned so far as my presentation is concerned.

At Nuremberg, we laid down the doctrine that individuals are responsible for some offenses, such as aggressive warfare. You will recall that there was some hue and cry raised in some places about the application of that doctrine. It always seemed to me that it is the people who make up the government, individual people, and I think the only way that we can effectively do anything in the field of international law is to hold individuals responsible, and as I read this proposal, I note that article 4 I believe it is (specifically refers to persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article 3 shall be punished, whether they are constitutional rulers, public officials, or private individuals. It doesn't seem to me that there is too much to ask that we move along and implement, so to speak, the Nuremberg doctrine with respect to this Genocide Convention.

CONVENTION ELIMINATES UNCERTAINTY

Parenthetically, let me say it intrigues me a little bit, some of the people who heaved at us at Nuremberg the charge that we were guilty of prosecution on an ex post facto basis are some of the same people who are now in opposition to the ratification of this convention. At least, it occurs to me that they ought to be consistent. I don't concede that there was anything ex post facto in the proceedings at Nuremberg, but assuming for the sake of this side of the thing that there is something to what they have claimed against us. I should suppose that they would be among the foremost in suggesting that now, in the time of peace, we join with the other good-intentioned people of the world in trying to establish a firm basis in law for the prevention of this kind of thing.

Now it has been suggested here, Senator, and I want to emphasize it again, that at Nuremberg, it was not possible for us to punish the defendants for many of terrible things they did to people in peacetime, things that they were clearly

genocidal in character. That is one of the reasons why I am interested in seeing this convention adopted.

WILLING TO SETTLE FOR WHAT WE HAVE

Now I don't suppose that this is perfect; most of the things that fall from the hand of man are not. We are entering into a new field. It fascinates me that the members of the committee upon which I am privileged to serve offer as one of their objections that it does not go far enough, and I am inclined to agree. I wish it included political and economic groups, but I know we can't have everything at once in the nature of international cooperation. I am willing to settle for the good things that we can get, in the hope that later on we will be able to enlarge this field and perhaps get political and economic groups included. But I can't understand opposition, if you are for this thing, opposition that it doesn't go far enough.

MIGHT HAVE DETERRED HITLER

You have been asked what good this would have been against Hitler. I am one of those who believe, after living 18 months over there among the Hitler regime, that had this Genocide Convention been in existence in the early days of the Hitler regime, what happened might not have happened. For one thing, the Nazi state would have stood condemned. Its ministers and ambassadors would not stand in the same position as those of other nations not in violation of a genocidal convention, and great numbers of people inside Germany would have taken heart and might have been more vigorous in their resistance to the regime itself.

You have been asked what can we do about the Russians, who are perhaps and probably doing this same sort of thing behind the iron curtain now. Well, at least we will have the moral influence of the covenant of the convention. Russia in its plan, as I see it, wishes to influence people all over the world. If people all over the world see Russia as a nation which does not subscribe to or adhere to the Genocide Convention, she will be severely affected in her efforts to influence people everywhere, and the forces of good thinking and of right conduct in the world will be immeasurably strengthened.

I am not going to dwell upon the constitutional difficulties. I am one of those who believe with the Solicitor General that there are no insurmountable constitutional difficulties. These kinks can be worked out. I think, furthermore, that the good advice that you and your committee, the Senate, will get from capable constitutional lawyers will help to work that out.

MENTAL HARM

I would like to take just 1 minute to tell you that on this question of mental harm, I know what that means, having heard it from the mouths of

people who knew what it meant subjectively. It was an established mechanism of the Nazi state, and it is practiced in other places as well, that the destruction, the disintegration of the human mind was a planned thing. It was one of the worst things that was done probably to individuals by the Nazis, and it is not too diffcult for people who want to learn about it to read the records at Nuremberg, and they will have a very clear concept, when they have done so, as to what happens to people under a planned program of destroying their minds. There are all kinds of ways of doing it, and there are many, indeed.

I think we need to adopt this and ratify this convention, because the world needs that moral support. I can't imagine the United States refusing to do so, in a world that looks to us for moral leadership, and we will give hope to people everywhere in the world if we do ratify it, and I, as an individual, urgently suggest to your committee that it favorably view this ratification proposal.

MONDAY, *June 28, 1971.*

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, previously, at the time of his retirement and on the day he died, a number of Senators joined with me in paying tribute to Senator THOMAS J. DODD. The full Senate honored Senator DODD officially on May 24, 1971.

Some of the Senators who were not present on the previous occasions have requested an opportunity to also pay tribute to their former colleague this morning.

TOM DODD served Connecticut and this Nation well during a difficult, but exciting, period in American history. He spent nearly all his adult life in public service—as an FBI agent, the Connecticut Director of the National Youth Administration, assistant chief of the civil rights section of the Department of Justice, and as the chief trial counsel at the Nuremberg trials. In 1955 TOM was elected to the first of two terms he spent in the House of Representatives and in 1959 was elected to the Senate.

During the 16 years he spent in the Congress, TOM labored hard and long for the issues he believed in—issues often considered too controversial by others.

I believe that when the history of this era is written, TOM DODD will be remembered—and honored—for his courageous efforts to

reform our inadequate gun-control laws. As a former law-enforcement officer, he knew firsthand the need to regulate firearms in this Nation. Although his efforts were opposed by one of the most virulent lobbying campaigns ever witnessed, he succeeded in seeing the first comprehensive gun control law passed in 1968.

I know that Connecticut, the Nation, and all my colleagues who served with TOM are going to miss him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record a copy of Senate Resolution 127 and a few of the many messages of sympathy to TOM's lovely wife Grace received from friends around the world.

In addition, Senators Weicker and Hansen, who could not be here this morning, have prepared statements and I ask unanimous consent that their statements be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 127

Relative to the death of former Senator THOMAS J. DODD

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable THOMAS J. DODD, who served in the United States Senate from the State of Connecticut from 1959 to 1971.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

AUSTIN, TEX.

Mrs. THOMAS DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

We are so very sorry. Lady Bird and I are thinking of you with deepest sympathy. Our hearts and our prayers go out to you.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
May 25, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

Dear MRS. DODD: It is with deep regret that I have learned of the death of your beloved and distinguished husband, a close and valued friend, whom I admired and respected very much.

Mrs. McCormack joins with me in expressing and extending to you and your loved ones our profound sympathy in your bereavement, in your great loss and sorrow.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN W. McCORMACK.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
May 25, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

I was most grieved to hear of the passing of Senator DODD. Mrs. Rabin and I extend to you our heartfelt condolences in your bereavement.

Y. RABIN, Lt. Gen.,
(Res) Ambassador of Israel.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
May 25, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

The faculty and Jesuit community of Georgetown join me in sending heartfelt sympathy on the death of Senator DODD. I am saying mass for him and will remember you Tom junior and all the family.

R. J. HENLE, S.J.,
President, Georgetown University.

JERUSALEM,
May 27, 1971.

MRS. THOMAS DODD,
Old Lynne, Conn.

It was with deep sorrow that I learnt of the death of your husband whom we all mourn. Senator DODD had won our admiration, respect, and gratitude for his unswerving friendship and consistent support for Israel all through the years of his senatorial career and Jewry entire will never forget the central compassionate and decisive role that he played on its behalf in the Nuremberg trials. I pray that you may find comfort and condolence in the proud memory of his lifetime of enlightened and selfless service to all his fellowmen.

ABBA EBAN,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

WETHERSFIELD, CONN.,
May 24, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

DEAR GRACE: Mary and I shocked to learn of the untimely death of TOM, his long distinguished public career was marked by his great concern for

America and her people. He devoted his life to the causes of justice and freedom. Our thoughts and prayers are with you and your family with deepest sympathy.

JOHN DEMPSEY.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
May 25, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

TOM understood the central challenge of our times and he was a courageous cold warrior. We were good friends. Francesca joins me in sending you, dear Grace, and yours our deepest sympathy at this sad time.

JOHN LODGE.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
May 26, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

I wish to express to you and your family the heartfelt condolences of the officers, directors, and staff of the International Rescue Committee on the loss of your husband. As a dedicated member of our board and through countless other activities, he made outstanding contributions to the cause of refugees and human freedom. He will be greatly missed by his many friends and associates. May I also express to you my deepest personal sympathies.

LEO CHERNE,
Chairman, International Rescue Committee.

NEW YORK,
May 26, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

DEAR MRS. DODD: It was with deep regret that I heard the announcement of your distinguished husband's death. As you know, I knew him intimately down through the years and it was always a delight when our paths crossed. Our contacts were particularly frequent during my activities on behalf of the Democratic Party and its nominees.

I realize how hard it is to give a loved one up and that there is some consolation in the knowledge that the good Lord will give us courage to carry on. Also, the memory of your wedded life will be a source of some comfort to you with the passing of the days. I want you and the other members of the family to know that you have my heartfelt sympathy in the great loss you have suffered.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES A. FARLEY.

Statement of Senator Weicker

Today we honor Thomas Dodd, a sincere, compassionate, dedicated man who devoted his life to the people of his nation and beloved state of Connecticut.

Our hearts go out in sympathy to Tom's widow, Grace, and his family.

We are all well aware of the sacrifices that a man must make when he chooses a career of public service. Tom Dodd made these sacrifices willingly for as he said on many occasions, there is no greater reward than the feeling that you have helped a fellow man.

In 1938, when few people thought about or cared about the rights of the blacks, Tom Dodd was in Mississippi prosecuting civil rights cases.

After World War II, he prosecuted with vigor the war criminals who had committed the most heinous crimes against humanity. Yet one of his last public efforts was to try to free Rudolf Hess, one of the men convicted at the Nuremberg Trials.

In the House of Representatives and in the Senate, he fought against drug abuse and warned against the influence of television violence on the young. He fought for prison reform and for social legislation.

When I first came to Washington as a Congressman, it was Tom Dodd who threw away the partisan and prestige rule book to be of assistance when called upon—which, due to my newness on the job, was frequently.

Tom Dodd reacted the same way to the people of his state. He was never too important to help the average man. He was never too Democrat to help a Republican.

He served his fellow man well. And thus he honored his country.

Statement of Senator Hansen

I would like to express my sorrow at the death of one of our esteemed former colleagues, Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut. Senator Dodd was a great American who had a distinguished career in public service. His many contributions to his nation surely left it better than he found it. Senator Dodd's long career working for his countrymen began when he graduated from Yale Law School in 1933 and became a special agent for the FBI. He built a fine reputation as a law enforcement official. He later went on to be a special assistant to five successive Attorneys General. In 1935, with the country in the grips of a severe depression, Senator Dodd organized the National Youth Administration programs in Connecticut, which provide education and employment for young people. His work was so successful that it was used as a model all over the country.

Senator Dodd's long interest in national security began in World War II, when he was instrumental in protecting the nation's internal security and set precedents with his prosecution of sabotage and subversion cases. After the

war, he earned the Medal of Freedom and a Presidential Citation for his efforts as executive trial counsel for the United States at the Nuremberg Trials.

The Senator returned to private law practice in 1947 but never relaxed his efforts to work for his country. In 1952, Senator DODD was elected to the first of two terms in the House of Representatives. He served the people in Connecticut until 1956 and moved to the upper house in 1959. His four years in the House and twelve years in the Senate were characterized by Senator DODD's concern about the American people.

Senator DODD worked diligently to protect our nation from the threat of Communism and strongly believed that the U.S. should build a strong military "to make it invincible." The Senator was known for his work in civil rights. Starting with his days in the Justice Department, Senator DODD helped form the civil rights division and prosecuted cases involving the Ku Klux Klan. In the Senate, he was one of the most consistent advocates for civil rights legislation. Senator DODD was also persistent in his call for new social legislation, including housing for the poor, Medicare, unemployment compensation and Social Security programs.

Few Senators can match his work in sponsoring drug-control legislation. He is personally responsible for much of the work now effective in this area.

Senator DODD leaves behind him a long and proud legacy of service to his country. Senator DODD was an especially great American because he believed in his country and loved his country, and spent his life making it greater. Few have accomplished as much as he did. He will be missed.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, THOMAS DODD was an eloquent and thoughtful man whose personal sacrifices and understanding of human problems made him a Senator to whom many looked for guidance.

His unrelenting search for and stress on individual and national freedom characterized his own lifestyle. His constant insistence on national unity made him a Senate leader.

I remember well many of Senator DODD's speeches and statements on foreign policy issues. They were memorable in the annals of the Senate for their scope and their scholarship, their philosophical consistency and their nonpartisan nature. But most of all, they were unique because he addressed himself to the issues as they were unfolding and while our policy was still being formulated.

His projects in the Senate were many—urging for more stringent gun and narcotic controls, prohibition of violence on television, and pursuit against Communist influences in our Government.

The death of Senator DODD leaves me personally saddened. His love of the Senate was obvious and his contributions to it were many. His philosophy of life can be summed up by a statement he made several years ago.

> We must decide where we have erred and where we have failed and what we might have done to avoid these failures. We must all be brutally frank with ourselves: nothing less than this will suffice.

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, it is with personal sadness that I rise today to pay my respects to the late TOM DODD of Connecticut.

Forceful, controversial, warm, human, charming, sincere, and tragic might be words to describe TOM. He was a complex man dedicated to serving his country, his State. He had great love for his family.

When I came to the Senate nearly a decade ago I was new to Washington and new to the Congress. TOM DODD, a fellow New Englander who had attended school in New Hampshire, gave me advice and counsel on committee assignments and other problems which face a new Member of the Senate. I found his advice most useful.

In 1963, Mrs. McIntyre and I had a chance to take a trip to Mexico with TOM and his lovely and devoted wife, Grace. We saw on this trip the warm, human, charming side of TOM and his devotion to his wife. We learned to love Grace who was his strong right arm throughout his life.

TOM served in the Congress for 16 years. Much important legislation bears his imprint.

I never had a chance to serve on a committee with him. I regret this because he was diligent in his committee work and his activities on gun control, juvenile delinquency, and subversive activities received national attention. He was among the first to point to the problems faced by our youth and to suggest solutions for juvenile delinquency.

He received many honors for his accomplishments in this field.

He was honored as well for the years he devoted to fighting the enemies of our Nation. He served as an FBI agent. He was an assistant to five U.S. Attorneys General.

He was a leader in the prosecution of the Axis criminals at Nuremberg. Few people knew more about the threat of the foreign enemy and their cohorts at home. Few people were more dedicated to exposing the enemy and fighting his attempts to undermine our way of life.

It was a saddening chain of events that occurred during the closing months of TOM DODD's service in the Senate. He became enmeshed in the net of campaign financing, which is one of the burdens which all those who follow public service as a vocation find most difficult, cumbersome, and hard to handle.

I know personally what an ordeal those trying times were to TOM. He felt more deeply than any will ever know the hurt which was his during the days and weeks this was a front page story and a subject for the columnists. He suffered during the time of the hearings, and during the period of debate and decision here in the Senate.

The hurt was deep but TOM DODD kept his head high and moved steadily ahead. He continued to try in his way to work for his State and his Nation. He continued his devotion to his family. His family remained loyal to him throughout his trials.

But, I know that whatever front TOM presented to the public he was so deeply hurt that he never recovered from the ordeal. What he went through hastened his untimely end.

I regret TOM DODD's passing from the political scene, and I regret his passing from this life.

To his beloved Grace and to the other members of his family, Mrs. McIntyre and I offer our condolences and our expression of sorrow that TOM is no longer with us.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a statement by the distinguished senior Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Eastland).

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR EASTLAND

I want to pay a few words of tribute to the memory of the late Senator THOMAS J. DODD of Connecticut, who died at his home in Connecticut on May 24.

It was my privilege to enjoy the cooperation of the Senator from Connecticut on the two Senate Committees which I chair—the Judiciary Committee and the Subcommittee on Internal Security. Thanks to an extraordinarily broad background in the fields of law and law enforcement and political subversion, he made outstanding contributions to the work of both committees.

There were issues from time to time on which I differed with the Senator from Connecticut. But whether one differed with him or agreed with him, it was impossible not to respect his courage and independence, his patriotic dedication, and his implacable opposition to communism and all forms of totalitarianism.

I recall that at the time Khrushchev's ultimatum on Berlin in November 1958, many voices were raised calling for a compromise rather than face up to the threat of nuclear war. In his maiden speech in the Senate, in February 1959, Senator Dodd took the floor to urge that the United States refuse to yield to Khrushchev's missile blackmail. His speech made a very great impression on the Senators who heard it, and I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the positive reaction to it enormously strengthened the American position and helped our Government to face down the Khrushchev ultimatum.

I recall, too, that Senator Dodd was one of the first members of the Senate to warn that Fidel Castro planned to implant a Communist dictatorship in Cuba. On this warning, as on so many other warnings, the Senator from Connecticut was proved right by the course of events.

I recall his warning in 1960 against the imposition of a coalition government in Laos. The Senator from Connecticut, who had just returned from a visit to Southeast Asia, informed the Senate that the so-called coalition government was a trap, that the Communists would continue to nibble away militarily at what was left of free Laos, that they would use the coalition government to inactivate us, but that they would not hesitate to break with it whenever they considered it to be to their advantage. The Senator also warned that one of the immediate consequences of the agreement we were about to sign in Laos would be an intensification of the Communist guerilla warfare in Vietnam. Once again, his warning turned out to be prophetic.

The Senator from Connecticut raised his voice repeatedly and eloquently in support of the American commitment to the defense of South Vietnam and in support of President Johnson's intervention against the attempted Communist takeover in the Dominican Republic.

In December of 1969, the Senator was instrumental in defeating a Foreign Relations Committee amendment which would have eliminated military aid to Greece. "We cannot afford to undermine NATO's Mediterranean defenses," said Senator Dodd, "in order to indicate our displeasure with certain practices of the present Greek government."

These are but a few random items from the long and impressive record that Senator Dodd built up in the field of foreign policy.

As Vice-Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, the Senator from Connecticut also played a leading role in the fight against subversion on the national plane. He chaired many of the Subcommittee's most important hearings on Communist subversion through the Caribbean, on State Department Security, on the Communist murder apparatus, and on other subjects. He also took the initiative in having many special studies prepared at his direction for the Subcommittee. Among these studies were "The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-In Movement: The Problem of Communist Infiltration and Exploitation"; "Church and State Under Communism"; "A Study of the Communist Party and Coalition Governments in the Soviet Union and in Eastern European countries;" "The Tricontinental Conference of African, Asian and Latin American Peoples"; and, most recently, "The Human Cost of Soviet Communism" by famed British sovietologist, Robert Conquest.

Looking back on the past, and surveying the present, I can only say that Senator DODD's strong voice is sorely missed in the United States Senate, and the stilling of this voice represents a grievous loss to the cause of freedom and the national security of the United States.

TOM DODD was a great United States Senator. Whatever his faults—and who among us does not have faults?—I know that he will be accorded high marks by future generations of Americans.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, this is an important meeting that we hold today to pay tribute to the service and the memory of a former colleague, the late Senator THOMAS J. DODD of Connecticut.

I am very conscious today that the Senate voted to censure THOMAS DODD and that at that time I was a member of the committee that recommended censure, and, of course, that resolution stands. But this fact does not prevent me from referring to the contributions that former Senator DODD made to our country.

Former Senator DODD had a very unusual and busy career as an FBI agent, trial counsel at the Nuremberg trials, and a Member of the House and the Senate. Some aspects of his career at the Nuremberg trial have appealed to me because of similar personal experiences.

I recall that from his experience as chief trial counsel at Nuremberg, he learned of and spoke of the desperation of thousands of Russian war prisoners and forced laborers who, because of the agreement at Yalta, were forced to return to the Soviet Union without their non-Russian spouses and children—a desperation which caused

many to kill themselves. I knew of this as a member of the 3d U.S. Army in Germany at the close of World War II, and I was glad to learn that THOMAS DODD had protested the inhumane and cruel treatment of those Russians who were torn from their families.

I recall also his constant interest and fight for civil rights, for equality under the law for all people. We joined together in 1963 and 1964 in introducing civil rights bills, antedating the bills of the administration in 1964. There never was a time in which he did not continue his work to help assure all people in our conutry equal rights under the law.

He was one of the first who took up the work of attempting to help solve problems of juvenile delinquents. What better or more important cause was there, or is there today?

He was one of those who initiated the politically unpopular, but correct effort to apply some legislative sanctions against the spread of firearms in our country.

As a result of his record in private and official life, I recall that in 1964, when he was a candidate for reelection to the Senate, over 1,000 outstanding citizens of our country placed an advertisement in the New York Times urging his election.

During the difficult time to which I have referred, and in which I participated as a member of the Committee on Ethics, I remember that Senator DODD maintained a position of dignity and understanding toward his colleagues. I shall not forget his love and concern for his wife and faimly and their concern and love for him.

Mr. President, all I can say is that considering the mores of the past and the times, he may have borne upon his shoulders as well, the blame for others.

Mr. President, I join others in this hour dedicated to the memory and work of THOMAS DODD. I appreciated his friendship.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, it was not until January 1969, when I came to the U.S. Senate, that I first met Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, then a Member of this body.

Senator DODD had already had a distinguished career of public service before I had the pleasure of meeting him.

He was a graduate of Yale University Law School, special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Connecticut director of National Youth Administration, assistant to five successive U.S. Attorneys General, vice chairman, Board of Review, and later executive trial counsel, Office of the U.S. Chief of Counsel for the prosecution of Axis criminality at Nürnberg, Germany, and was the recipient of several awards for his work, served 4 years in the House and 12 years in the U.S. Senate.

Senator DODD while a member of the Senate waged relentless war on communism and the evil forces of communism.

He fought unceasingly against crime, drug addiction, juvenile delinquency, and in behalf of gun control legislation.

So outstanding was his public service that there was much speculation in 1964 that he would be asked by President Johnson to be his running mate in the 1964 presidential election.

His ability was outstanding and his appearance was striking. With the dignitiy of his bearing and the gray of his hair and his booming resonant voice he made an impressive figure on the Senate floor. Truly, he looked the part of a Senator.

I found him to be a most attractive person, friendly, loyal, gentle, and kind but with great courage, strength, determination and faith I was proud to have him for a friend and to be numbered among his friends.

Mrs. Allen and I were saddened by news of his death and extend condolences to Mrs. Dodd and other members of his family.

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of THOMAS J. DODD. Unlike most of my colleagues, I did not have the privilege of serving in the Senate with TOM DODD. But I did observe his career in this body with the greatest interest, and I respected and admired his knowledge and perseverance in areas affecting our national security.

During his tenure in the Senate TOM DODD acquired a well-deserved reputation as an eminent analyst of cold war strategy and as a forceful and highly skilled spokesman in behalf of a sound and thoughtful strategic defense posture. Some of his critics accused Senator DODD of being a crusader against communism. TOM DODD was a crusader,

and he did indeed relentlessly oppose any weakening of our moral resolve or practical ability to deter Communist aggressions. I am reminded of an example of Tom Dodd's crusading spirit which was cited by Eugene Methvin in an article published in the Reader's Digest, September 1964, under the title, "Crusader from Connecticut":

> President John F. Kennedy looked around the White House dining table on February 14, 1961, at the 19 Cabinet and legislative leaders assembled for the first joint breakfast meeting of his administration. The bacon and eggs finished, he raised a touchy question.
>
> "We have this request to let a Vermont manufacturer ship ball-bearing machines to Russia," he said. "Senator Dodd asked President Eisenhower to hold it up, pending Senate investigation. Now he says the shipment will harm our national security. What about it?
>
> "The Russians can buy the same kind of machines from European manufacturers," said Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges. "If we bar the shipment we only cheat our own businessmen out of the profits."
>
> "I wouldn't jump to a conclusion so lightly," said Vice President Lyndon Johnson. "Tom Dodd has a habit of being right."
>
> Two weeks later, Senator Dodd discovered that the machines were going to be shipped despite his protests. Whereupon he strode into President Kennedy's office and handed him a seven-page report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommitte, of which Dodd is vice chairman. Twelve of the most eminent technical experts in the field, the President read, agreed to a man that not one of the European machines cited by the Commerce Department approached the capabilities of the American machine. The latter was a unique product representing the pooled expertise of many companies; 72 of these machines had been enough to supply the entire U.S. military and space effort with the tiny precision bearings that enabled us to miniaturize equipment and so offset the Soviet rocket-thrust advantage. Yet we were about to hand 45 of the machines to the Russians.
>
> When he finished reading, President Kennedy ordered the shipment to Russia canceled.

Many of us recall another crusade of Senator Dodd's—his protest against the visit of Mr. Krushchev in 1959. Senator Dodd said:

> Let there be no cheers for the Red dictator, no crowds assembled to greet him, no flattery or flowers. Let our people be civil but silent.

An examination of the speeches and writings of Tom Dodd reveals a keen understanding of the nature of international communism and

a thorough and perceptive appreciation of the most subtle foreign policy questions. His presentations were always marked by a myriad of relevant data and facts, interwoven in argumentation meeting the most exacting standard of reason, and concluding persuasively in favor of the points he was raising.

No area of the world was out of TOM DODD's scrutiny. His searching probes encompassed the prominent, often rotating list of world trouble spots—sometimes Berlin, or Southeast Asia, Cuba, the Congo. More often than not TOM DODD anticipated the changing course of world events and the possibility of the next international crisis.

The recent heightened interest in the plight of Soviet Jewry points to the continued relevance of TOM DODD's writing. For many years Senator DODD addressed himself to the broad issue of communism and religion, and to the more particular issues of Soviet religious persecution, especially his informed and lucid analysis of Soviet anti-Semitism.

Mr. President, I appreciate having this opportunity to salute a man with whom I did not have the privilege of serving, but a man I respected from afar—a Senator who contributed so much to the Nation—Senator THOMAS J. DODD.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I am not fortunate enough to be able to claim a long professional association with Senator THOMAS DODD. However, I did know him some 10 years. I met him in the late 1950's when I had occasion to come to Washington, and he was a Senator then of some renown. He was most generous in his courtesies toward me and a most sensitive person.

From that period to the time I became a Member of this body this association blossomed, and those same two characteristics, the characteristic of sensitivity and the characteristic of personal kindness, were repeatedly reaffirmed.

I can candidly say that in many areas of policy we disagreed, and sometimes our disagreements were vitriolic. But more importantly I can say that as a human being and as a person who held my affection there was no other Senator in this Chamber for whom I had a higher personal regard.

I mourn his passing with his family and with his colleagues who had longer and probably closer associations.

I can only say that he accomplished what is probably the ideal of any person in public life: that is, to pass through this life and to make all that it is possible to make—footprints on the sands of time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I join Senators in paying tribute to Tom Dodd. I had the privilege of serving with him in the Senate during the entire time he was a Member. I knew of his record prior to his coming to the Senate and of the honors that had come to him—all those things that were enumerated by my colleague from Alabama (Mr. Allen.)

I served with Tom Dodd on the Committee on Foreign Relations. I, of course, observed his work there and was aware of his other committee activities.

I knew of his strong stand against Communist activities and threats to our country. I knew of his work with respect to juvenile delinquency, crime, and gun control.

I found him always to be a man who was easy to work with. I enjoyed my service with him on the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I want to say something else about Tom Dodd. I think that often a man's character and integrity are put to the test in adversity.

I know the unpleasant situation that arose in the Senate, and I watched Tom Dodd to see how he took it. I walked over to his seat in the Chamber. I believe it is the seat where the senior Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Ribicoff) is now standing.

I walked over to Tom and said, "I want you to know that I admire the way you stood up and showed yourself to be the man you are in the attitude you take."

I want to pay this tribute to Mrs. Dodd: I never saw anyone stand by her partner in a better and stronger way than she did through it all.

Both Mrs. Sparkman and I extend to her and to her family our condolences.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the man we are gathered here to honor today had a public career marked by great distinction and

also by great tragedy. As a Member of this body for 17 years, he was renowned for his great patriotism and for the intellect and ability to express that patriotism effectively. His record as a liberal in domestic matters was complemented by a sincere and incisive anti-Communist position in foreign affairs.

He was known throughout his life for his interest in young people and he served with distinction as chairman of the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency. Outside of his Senate career, his most well-known public service was to serve as chief prosecutor of Nazi war criminals in the Nuremberg trials in 1945 and 1946.

Mr. President, his exceptional talent placed him among those reported to have been seriously considered for the Democratic nomination for Vice President in 1964. The high regard in which he was held in the Senate was shared by the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson.

Most of us in this body are familiar with the great tragedy which befell our colleague when he was censured by the Senate. It has been said, "To err is human, to forgive divine." In my judgment, the action of the Senate in this matter was a prime example of human error. This was a sad example in which the Senate did not show the necessary courage to exonerate this man. The evidence showed clearly that Senator DODD obtained no personal gain whatsoever and that he, in fact, had expended much greater sums of his personal funds than he received. His was a trial by the press that was degraded by a serious lapse of loyalty on the part of those he should have been able to trust. I am proud that I stood with him then, when his need was so great.

Mr. President, TOM DODD was not a man to admit defeat. He continued to represent his home State of Connecticut with diligence and ability. He offered for reelection last year and, when it became clear he would be denied his party's nomination, he showed unusual courage and campaigned energetically as an independent. Although he was not elected, I have always felt his action showed a quality of strength in the man that deserves our notice and our praise.

It can often be easy to display qualities of courage and honor when everything is going well. The test of a man is his ability to show these qualities in the darkest hours. TOM DODD met that test.

Mr. President, TOM DODD was a man of honor, a man of courage, and a man of capacity. He was an astute lawyer, an able Senator, a distinguished statesman, a brave soldier, a true patriot, and a great American. He was a fine citizen and a good friend.

Mr. President, I would be remiss if I did not say that his wife, Grace, is one of the loveliest, most charming, and finest ladies I have ever known. She stood by him at all times. She was an inspiration to him. She assisted him in his work and deserves the highest commendation. A great deal of what he accomplished, I am sure, was due in large part to his capable and devoted wife. I wish for her all happiness and good health in future years.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, the career in public service of THOMAS DODD covered almost four decades. We who have had the opportunity to work with TOM DODD during his two terms in the Senate know that the list of causes he championed during his service is long and impressive. The issues he chose to tackle were often controversial, yet he never hesitated to stand alone if necessary for the causes for which he believed.

His crusades first focused nationwide attention on such issues as juvenile delinquency, civil rights, crime, and drug abuse. As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, his vast knowledge helped formulate omnibus legislation to stem delinquency and drug abuse.

An internationalist, proud of America's constructive postwar foreign aid works, TOM DODD was also keenly aware of the historical value and modern necessity to maintain America's balance of strength in arms and in diplomacy. He worked for the nuclear test ban treaty because he thought that treaty to be in the Nation's and the world's best interest, but he also worked to guard against erosion of our military strength.

His fame, justly earned as a Nuremberg prosecutor, was a further highlight of TOM DODD's distinguished and dedicated public service. As chief counsel at Nuremberg in 1945–46, TOM DODD said that he was privy to "an autopsy of history's most horrible catalog of human crime." He was one of the few to witness firsthand the totalitarian terrors of both the Nazis and the Communists, and the mem-

ory of this momentous event in history imprinted upon him the necessity to fight totalitarianism in all its forms.

TOM DODD served the Nation with great dedication and his death is a sad loss.

Mrs. Cannon joins me in extending condolences and sympathy to his widow, Grace, and his family.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I am pleased that the Senate is today providing us with the opportunity to pay tribute to the former Senator from Connecticut, THOMAS J. DODD. And I am honored to participate.

As a Member of this Chamber, Senator DODD built a record of solid achievement, a record in which he could take pride, and for which his fellow citizens should express real gratitude. Senator DODD was a sentinel of national security. He understood full well the requirements of a sound defense, and he fought gallantly for them. An acknowledged expert on communism and a vigilant advocate of internal security, TOM DODD appreciated the fact that disorder and dissolution can come from within as easily as from without.

His colleagues knew him as a fervent patriot, and his friends as a man of rare personal courage. Nowhere was his resolve better evidenced than in his campaign for reelection in 1970. He ran against great odds to vindicate the conduct of his office. His countrymen can only admire such tenacity.

Today, Mr. President, we mourn his passing. America has lost an effective defender of its interests abroad and its liberty and well-being at home. I join the Members of the Senate, and his legion of friends everywhere, in the belief that the record of THOMAS J. DODD will endure the test of time.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, when I think of the late Senator THOMAS DODD, I remember primarily the years during which we worked together as colleagues on the Senate Judiciary Committee and especially the honor of serving under him on the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency.

If more of the restrictions and precautions advocated by the late distinguished senior Senator from Connecticut had been adopted and

put into practice, we might well have prevented some of the drug abuse problems which confront us today.

TOM DODD was devoted to the cause of preventing drug abuse, just as he was devoted to the cause of combating all those individuals—both those from within our Nation as well as those from without—who sought to weaken the power of a strong America.

In my mind I shall always remember him for his ability and his achievements, and thus that he will be remembered in history.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to the memory of a devoted public servant and former Member of Congress, Senator THOMAS J. DODD.

I was privileged to serve in the House with TOM DODD during the 83d and 84th Congresses, and we were both elected to the Senate in the same year as members of the "Class of 1958." During the 15 years that we served in Congress together, I came to know Senator DODD as a dedicated and hard-working public servant.

Very few men in American history have devoted their lives so completely to the service of their country as did TOM DODD. While still in law school, he campaigned in support of President Roosevelt's "New Deal," and shortly thereafter he joined the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He helped organize the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division and in 1945 was sent to Nuremberg where he became chief trial counsel at the Nazi war crimes trials.

Senator DODD was well known for his vigorous and unrelenting crusade against communism, yet he was one of the few people who dared to speak out against the irresponsible, anti-Communist demagoguery of the McCarthy era. During his service in Congress, TOM DODD became widely recognized for his scrupulous fairness. Senator Paul Douglass once remarked about him:

> Although TOM DODD is a vigorous anti-Communist, I know personally that he has many times stood up for those unfairly accused by the far right.

In the Senate, TOM DODD will long be remembered for the outstanding work he did as a member of the Foreign Relations Com-

mittee, the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

Mr. President, perhaps the finest tribute that can be paid to Senator DODD is to point out that he was admired even by those who frequently disagreed with him on philosophical or ideological grounds. This is probably so because TOM DODD himself recognized that in a democracy like ours, these differences are unavoidable and necessary. That belief which he held is expressed very well in a quotation from one of his speeches which I should like to recall here:

> The differences that exist within our society are important, inevitable and, indeed, proper. But we all share the same basic beliefs in freedom and justice, in the God-given nature of man's rights, in the destiny of our country. And these basic beliefs that unite us are ten thousand times as important as the controversies that divide us.

Mr. President, I am very glad to have this opportunity to honor the memory of a former colleague who will long be remembered by us who knew him and worked with him as one of our Nation's most dedicated and tireless public servants.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, it is with a sense of personal loss that I pay tribute to our late former colleague, Senator THOMAS DODD. I say this because Senator DODD made significant and lasting contributions in the area of prison reform and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency. He was a strong crusader against drugs and organized crime. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he was always a steadfast supporter of a strong foreign policy posture on the part of the United States.

Senator DODD's death was a particularly personal one for me. He was a member of the freshman class of 1958 in the Senate, as was I. It is only fitting that the Members of the Senate set aside a moment from their duties to honor the memory of the late former Senator from Connecticut.

TUESDAY, *June 29, 1971.*

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, it is with honor today that I join in the tribute to my former colleague, THOMAS J. DODD. Few men dur-

ing the history of this body have served so selflessly or have given more of themselves to their country. Few men in this country have understood better than Tom Dodd the need for us to remain strong in the face of unceasing attempts to destroy the citadel of freedom. No one was more vocal in his condemnation of totalitarianism, whether it be fascism or communism, that was my friend Tom Dodd.

While he was serving as chief trial counsel at Nuremberg in 1945–46, Tom Dodd not only saw the horror of what the fascists had done, but also came face to face with the equal horrors of communism, a system that brutalized human nature more surely, more completely than any other system devised by mankind. During this time, Tom Dodd began his life-long fight against this new imperialism in every part of the world that it reared its ugly head. He was criticized by many for doing so, but he knew the necessity to keep up the fight.

Mr. President, Tom Dodd had friends not only in this country, but all over the free world in the many troubled lands that he helped. From the captive nations of Eastern Europe to the embattled areas of Asia, many heartfelt messages poured in to the Dodd family. Freedom loving people throughout the world know what a friend that they have lost in Tom Dodd. I ask unanimous consent that a series of these messages to the Dodd family, including messages from President Nixon and Vice President Agnew, be printed at this point in the Record. I also ask unanimous consent that an article by Allan C. Brownfeld about Tom Dodd, from the June 3, 1971, edition of Roll Call be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Key Biscayne, Fla.,
May 24, 1971.

Mrs. Thomas J. Dodd,
Lyme Street,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

My thoughts and deepest sympathy are with you as I share your grief at your husband's death. Tom Dodd was a tireless and distinguished public servant whose friendship I valued and whose advice I appreciated. He never failed to put the national interest above party politics or personal ambitions, and always sought to uphold the national security. He will be deeply missed and warmly remembered by all who cherish our priceless heritage of freedom, and for whom his life's achievements will remain an inspiration and a

source of strength. I feel fortunate to be included among these fellow citizens. And I assure you that I will never forget that, despite our party differences, he rose above politics to give me encouragement and counsel at a time when I most needed it. Mrs. Nixon joins me in prayer that God may bless you and your family with the special strength to persevere in these difficult days, and with the hope that proud memories may sustain you in the years ahead.

RICHARD NIXON.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
May 24, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Lyme Street,
Old Lyme, Conn.

DEAR MRS. DODD: I was very sorry to learn of your husband's death.

He was a fine man, and his service to his country and to the State of Connecticut will be long remembered.

Sincerely,

SPIRO T. AGNEW.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
May 24, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

DEAR MRS. DODD: I was saddened to hear of TOM's passing and want you to know you have my deepest sympathy. While words certainly are inadequate at a time like this, I hope you will derive some measure of comfort from knowing that others share your sorrow. If I can be of assistance in any way, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

J. EDGAR HOOVER.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
May 26, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

I am deeply grieved by the news of the death of your distinguished husband, he was truly a friend in need and I shall always remember him with gratitude. The Nation has lost a statesman and a patriot. I hope that the sincere sympathy of his many admirers and friends will afford some solace.

LEWIS STRAUSS.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New Delhi, May 25, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

DEAR GRACE: I was greatly saddened to learn this morning of TOM's death. You, as much as anyone in this world, know how close I was to TOM and how greatly I valued his friendship. There was no one in the Senate whose counsel I held in higher esteem or whose helping hand was more generously and readily extended to me. He was a loyal colleague and a wonderful human being.

I want you and all the Dodd family to know that you are very much in my thoughts during this sad and difficult time.

Warmest personal regards.

Very sincerely yours,

KENNETH B. KEATING.

May 25, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
West Hartford, Conn.

DEAR MRS. DODD: I was terribly sorry to hear of the passing of your dear husband, who was one of the great people of our times. It is unbelievable that he went so suddenly.

My dearest sympathy in your great loss,

Sincerely,

GENE TUNNEY.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
May 25, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.

President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have instructed me to transmit to you the following message: "Mrs. Thomas J. Dodd. We are deeply sorry to learn of the death of your distinguished husband. For many years Senator DODD valiantly championed the cause of the Republic of China and his staunch friendship for our country and people left a profound impression on us all. We shall long remain indebted to him. We hope the Senator's great achievements as a public figure will help assuage your sorrow. Please accept our sincerest condolences in your bereavement. President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek."

JAMES C. SHEN,
Ambassador of the Republic of China, Washington, D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
May 25, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

I am very sorry to learn that Senator DODD has passed away. Many of his friends in the Republic of China will mourn his death because he had been such a staunch friend of these people. In my earlier visits to Washington I had the privilege of meeting the Senator. He was such a warm-hearted and friendly man. I had hoped to meet him again in my new capacity as the Chinese Ambassador. Now that he is gone, I too, have a feeling of a great personal loss. Please accept my heartfelt condolences.

JAMES C. H. SHEN,
Ambassador of the Republic of China,
Washington, D.C.

May 25, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

Deeply grieved untimely death your distinguished husband whose championship for freedom, justice, friendship towards Republic of China will always be cherished. Please accept my sympathies and condolences.

CHOWSHUKA I,
Minister Foreign Affairs.

VIETNAM,
May 31, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

We in Vietnam are grieved to learn of the passing of Senator DODD. Have lost a true friend of Vietnam at a time when his services are so greatly needed. Please accept our deepest condolences at this sorrowful time.

Respectfully,

COLONEL ETAT,
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Saigon.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
May 24, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

Most grieved by sudden demise of Senator DODD. On my own behalf and that of my staff I would like to extend to you our sincere sympathy on this day of sorrow.

BUI DIEM,
Ambassador of Vietnam.

Mrs. Thomas J. Dodd,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

Members Vietnam Senate and myself profoundly saddened learning passing Senator Dodd. He left here many friends who know and appreciate his effective championing of VN cause. Please rest assured we share your great loss.

Nguyen van Huye,
President, Senate.

Washington, D.C.
May 24, 1971.

Mrs. Thomas J. Dodd,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

I wish to express to you and your family my heartfelt sympathy on the death of Senator Dodd. He was a fine American. I feel greatly honored to have known him personally. My entire nation mourns the loss of a good and loyal friend.

Park Chung Hee,
President of the Republic of Korea.

Paris,
May 25, 1971.

Mrs. Thomas J. Dodd,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

Deepest sympathy and sorrow for untimely passing of the crusader from Connecticut who has given Korean people constant encouragement in our struggle for peace and justice.

Soo Young Lee,
Korean Ambassador in Paris.

Washington, D.C.,
May 24, 1971.

Mrs. Thomas Dodd,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

I am deeply saddened to hear of the death of your fine husband. I would like to extend to you the condolences of all the Korean people on this great loss. We valued his friendship highly and will greatly miss him.

Dong Jo Kim,
Ambassador.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
May 25, 1971.

Mrs. GRACE DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

Please accept the sincere condolences of the Assembly of Captive European Nations on the untimely passing of your late husband, Senator THOMAS J. DODD. A fighter for justice and freedom both at Nuremberg and in the U.S. Congress, he left a lasting mark in the fields of government and the law. He clearly demonstrated his sympathy for the cause of freedom and self-determination in East-Central Europe by his unwavering support for our efforts. His death, has, therefore, had a very profound effect upon us all.

IMRE KOVACS,
Acting Chairman, Assembly of Captive European Nations.

May 25, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS J. DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

Permit me with all my heart and love to share in the grief over the loss of your dear husband, voicing on behalf of the Hungarian committee and myself our deepest condolences.

Senator DODD was one of the greatest patrons of the Hungarian people in their life and death struggle against communism. He was always our great defender. Now when his beloved family and native land mourn him, we Hungarians too—scattered throughout the world and oppressed back home—join in sorrow and pray for him, in deepest gratitude.

MONSIGNOR BELA VARGA.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
May 24, 1971.

Mrs. THOMAS DODD,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

Deeply grieved Rumanian national committee extends sincere sympathy on the passing of your beloved husband. With Senator DODD's death freedom lost a great fighter for the captive nations, a forceful devoted friend. His memory will live forever in the grateful hearts of the Rumanian people.

CONSTANTIN VISOIANU,
President, Rumanian National Committee.

West Hartford, Conn.,
May 25, 1971.

Mrs. Thomas Dodd,
Old Lyme, Conn.:

Our deepest sympathy to you and your family for the loss of a most cherished and beloved friend.

Ukranian National Association of Connecticut.

Thomas Dodd: A Lonely Fighter

(By Allan C. Brownfeld)

When he was censured by the United States Senate they said of Thomas Dodd that he was corrupt, and his friends said that, no he wasn't corrupt, he was simply like all of the others, and that if he was censured then they should all be censured. Perhaps this only reflects the cynicism of our own age, and it is possible that our overlooking the faults of others is simply a reaffirmation of our own faults and our rejection of the idea of sin. For, in a world in which nothing is right and nothing is wrong, who is fit to cast judgment?

Now Thomas Dodd is dead, and many who attacked him in life have cast aside their harsh appraisals and replaced them with the sugar-coated remembrances that are no more than a sham. If the life, career, and death of Senator Dodd have any meaning at all for us, it may be in a manner we will not want to hear.

For, rather than appearing corrupt, this life casts a far different image upon today's political scene. A pirate, when he was brought before the Emperor Alexander, declared that "I, for stealing some jewels, am called a pirate and an outlaw. You, for stealing the whole world, are declared emperor." Thomas Dodd may not have been fastidious in his handling of the matters of his life, but in the things which are, in reality, the life and death questions of our civilization he was valiant, and often a lonely, fighter.

Senator Dodd, as chief trial counsel at Nuremberg in 1945–46, said he was privy to "an autopsy of history's most horrible catalogue of human crime." It was here that he also became an arch foe of communism and he was angered by the effort of the Soviet prosecutors to blame Nazis for the massacre of 15,000 captured Polish officers at Katyn forest, a massacre which Dodd claimed and later history has proven was performed by the Russians themselves.

"I learned of the desperation and terror of hundreds of thousands of Russian war prisoners and slave laborers held by the Nazis whom we, through ignorance, returned against their will to the Soviet authorities," Dodd told The Readers Digest. "I am still tormented by accounts of mass suicides in which men slashed their wrists with tin cans and women jumped with their children from upper-story windows rather than face return to Russia."

THOMAS DODD lived through an era in which many members of his party said that communism was no longer a threat, and he died at a time when the leadership of the other party was making conciliatory sounds toward both the Russians and the Communist Chinese. Politics in the partisan sense was never of any importance to him. What mattered most was a strong national defense and a concern for freedom. This made Senator DODD an increasingly lonely figure in a Senate dominated by those who sought not either defense or dignity, but simply followed the public opinion polls which indicated restlessness with a lingering war and an urge for a new isolationism. Those who fight the times do not always have an easy end. Would Jack Anderson and Drew Pearson, many ask, have launched an attack upon William Fulbright or George McGovern? The answer, these critics state, can easily be seen. In this sense, Senator DODD paid not only for the data on his tax returns but for his steadfast opinions, which did not follow the tide of the times.

This writer had the opportunity to be associated with Senator DODD for several years. When making a pronouncement about matters of foreign policy and defense he never consulted the polls, and he never took a count of the letters for and the letters against. His concern was what policy would best advance freedom, what policy would convince world communism that aggression would not be permitted to succeed, what policy would best maintain the security of our own country. He supported the war in Vietnam, he opposed east-west trade, he defended our commitment to the Nationalist Chinese—not because it was popular, but because it was right. How many men who voted to censure THOMAS DODD can say that they base their votes on principle and not on convenience? Unfortunately, we will never know.

They told Senator DODD that the Communists were no longer a danger, and that we needed to "reorder priorities." Despite the fact that he was long a domestic liberal, in favor of labor unions and gun control and civil rights, he recognized that without a firm posture in the world all of the domestic "priorities" mattered little. And when they told him he was not modern and was "behind the times," it seems that he simply wondered what they meant.

In his book, The Fish Can Sing, the Icelandic writer Halldor Laxness confronts one of his characters with a young man who believes in neither ghost stories nor any things unseen. In response, he states: "Mankind's spiritual values have all been created from a belief in all the things the philosophers reject. . . . How are you going to live if you reject not only the Barber of Seville but also the cultural value of ghost stories. If it were to be proved scientifically or historically or even judicially that the Resurrection is not particularly well authenticated by evidence—are you then going to reject the B-minor Mass? Do you want to close St. Peter's Cathedral because it has come to light that it is the symbol of a mistaken philosophy and would be

more useful as a stable? What a catastrophe that Giotto and Fra Angelico should have become enmeshed in a false ideology as painters, instead of adhering to realism. The story of the Virgin Mary is obviously just another falsehood invented by knaves, and any man is a fraud who allows himself to sigh, 'Pietra Signor.' "

Somehow, Senator DODD believed all of the old American ideas about individual freedom and human dignity and the need to oppose tyranny and oppression. What kind of "liberals" are they, he wondered, who could overlook Red China's rape of Tibet, the Soviet Union's persecution of Jews, the deprivation of freedom to millions of men, women, and children in Eastern Europe? If in order to be elected to public office you must leave your conscience on the doorstep maybe, he may have mused, it just isn't worth it.

Too many Members of Congress, and of the press corps, have become mere faddists. Senator DODD would have agreed with C. S. Lewis when he said "We must condemn . . . the uncritical acceptance of the intellectual climate common to our own age and the assumption that whatever has gone out of date is on that account discredited. You must find out why it went out of date. Was it ever refuted? And if so by whom, where, and how conclusively? Or did it merely die away as fashions do? If the latter, this tells us nothing about its truth or falsehood. From seeing this, one passes to the realization that our own age is also a 'period' and certainly has like all periods its own characteristic illusions."

And so, a life is ended. But it was a life which, in the important things, was true to a standard far different from that of the roar of the crowd. THOMAS DODD saw the evils of Nazism and Communist first-hand. He recoiled from their horror only to find in his own country a growing unwillingness to confront evil.

Some will only remember of this man that he was censured by the Senate for income tax irregularities. But that may be the least important thing of all, and we ourselves may have fallen to such a depth that we can no longer recognize the heroic qualities in others. THOMAS DODD fought a lonely battle for the things upon which Western civilization is based and we must hope that in the next generation there will be enough of those to fight this same battle so that civilization itself will be preserved.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I am honored to have known and worked with TOM in his body. His disdain for partisan politics and his willingness to give me counsel were always appreciated. It is TOM DODD's legacy that his work be continued, that we always fight for freedom; for, in the final analysis, our freedom is the only compelling reason that we continue. Without freedom in this country and in the world, life itself becomes meaningless and even mere

existence nearly pointless. I turn to the words of President Nixon to emphasize what the loss of Tom Dodd means to our Nation:

> We will be deeply missed and warmly remembered by all who cherish our priceless heritage of freedom, and for whom his life's achievements will remain an inspiration and a source of strength.

May we always keep his commitment to freedom, for then we shall always persevere.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I wish to join Senators in paying tribute to the memory of one of our recently departed colleagues, Senator Thomas J. Dodd, with whom I had the pleasure of serving from the time I entered this body through the end of his service at the conclusion of the 91st Congress. His sudden death on May 24 of this year came as a shock and a tragic loss not only to his family but to his former colleagues and many friends in the Senate.

Tom Dodd was a very dedicated Member of this body. His tireless efforts on behalf of drug legislation, gun control, and crime control legislation were great contributions in his later years just as his early years were marked with distinct contributions to the security of our Nation.

Senator Dodd not only looked every inch a Senator, he exerted every effort to perform the duties of a Senator on behalf of his constituents and our Nation. He was a most articulate and tenacious defender of the causes he espoused. He was a man of courage and conviction second to none. He was a true patriot.

I wish his family every good wish as they live with fond memories of a man who also meant much to those of us who were fortunate enough to have been his colleague.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I did not have the privilege of knowing Tom Dodd as long as some of our distinguished colleagues who have thus far paid tribute to him. However, my association with him over a period of two and a half years is something I greatly value and will always remember.

I think of Tom as a man who often stood by himself at the forefront of one crucial battle or another through the years. He was a man of extraordinary talent and forcefulness who also had a depth

of human compassion that only those who knew him well fully understood.

The chief prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials and the man who had the courage to push for gun control when it was an untouchable political issue also had deep feelings about the victims of war atrocities and the problems of American youth.

Tom Dodd was a pioneer and innovator. He foresaw the perils of the growing drug epidemic in America long before most of our public leaders could see it. In the Senate, he finished a career of nearly four decades of public service, in the midst of the action, where he had always chosen to be.

Mr. President, it is my privilege to know Mrs. Grace Dodd and the Senator's family, and I join my colleagues in conveying to them my deepest sympathy.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, our former colleague from Connecticut, Thomas J. Dodd, served with great distinction in this body for 12 years. During that time, a sizable portion of his work was devoted to combating crime in America and easing the problems of the young people of this country. Nothing demonstrates more fully the enormous contribution of Senator Dodd in this field than his legislative record as chairman of the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency of the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. President, I wish to honor Senator Dodd today by reviewing that record.

During his 10-year tenure as chairman of the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee, Senator Dodd was active in three related legislative areas: general problems of juvenile delinquency, firearms control, and drug abuse.

Senator Dodd is largely responsible for the enactment of the first Federal juvenile delinquency law, the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961. This act became the first major Federal program to fight delinquency. Many of the provisions of this act served as a blueprint for the national war on poverty and on crime undertaken by President Johnson. Senator Dodd later perfected and extended this law by introducing and securing passage of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968.

In the second major area of legislation, gun control, Senator DODD first proposed legislation as early as 1963 to limit mail-order traffic in firearms. Finally, in 1968 after 25 days of debate on the floor of the Senate, Senator DODD obtained passage of the State Firearms Control Assistance Act and the Gun Control Act of 1968, two of the most important firearms laws in our history. These laws resulted in an enormous increase in the number of arrests for gun law violations and a significant improvement in the control of criminal use of firearms.

But perhaps Senator DODD's greatest contribution has been in the area of drug abuse control. After years of subcommittee investigation and hearings, Congress enacted the Drug Abuse Control Amendment of 1965, which established the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This act proved to be extremely effective in protecting young people from the unregulated traffic in dangerous drugs such as amphetamines, barbiturates, LSD, and other natural and synthetic substances.

In 1966 Senator DODD introduced the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act which for the first time enabled federally convicted heroin addicts to get back on their feet rather than make them rot in prison. Then in 1968 Senator DODD introduced the Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969. This bill was eventually signed into law in 1970 as the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970. It was a recodification of all existing Federal drug laws and as such was the most comprehensive Federal law ever proposed, covering every phase of the drug traffic and abuse problem.

Mr. President, neither this selective summary of some of his legislative accomplishments nor the more complete listing of the laws he has authored which is included at the end of my statement can adequately describe the skill and courage with which Senator DODD led the Senate for so many years in the area of crime prevention and control. His legislative solutions were often innovative, always sound, and ever devoted to saving the lives and preserving the health of our Nation's young people. This body and the Nation will miss his leadership in this important area.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a more complete list of Senator Dodd's legislative accomplishments as chairman of the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Senator Dodd's Legislation Passed Into Law Since 1961

1961

S. 802—*The Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961.* Introduced by Senator Dodd. Co-sponsored by Senators Kefauver, Carroll and Hart. Three days of hearings were held by the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee on this bill. Representatives of all of the major groups in the United States concerned with juvenile delinquency were heard. Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Reported to Senate as S. 279 on April 6, 1967, Senate Report 144. Passed Senate April 12, 1961, and referred to House Committee on Education and Labor. Passed House, amended, on August 30, 1961. Senate agreed to House amendments on September 11, 1961. Approved September 22, 1961. (Public Law 87–274)

S. 1953—A bill to amend Section 5201 of Title 18, United States Code, setting aside conviction of youth offenders released from probation. Introduced by Senator Dodd. (Subcommittee processed bill, wrote report and reported bill to Full Committee and Senate.) Passed into law, October 3, 1961. (Public Law 87–336)

1962

S. 1691—A bill to provide that any juvenile who has been determined delinquent by a District Court of the United States may be committed by the court to the custody of the Attorney General for observation and study. Introduced by Senator Hruska. Bill processed by the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee (hearings, legislative report) and reported to the Full Committee and to the Senate. Passed into law, March 31, 1962. (Public Law 87–428)

1963

S. 1319—A bill to amend chapter 35 of Title 18, United States Code, with respect to the escape or attempted escape of juvenile delinquents. Introduced by Senator Dodd. (Subcommittee processed bill, wrote report and reported bill to the Full Committee and to the Senate.) Passed into law December 30, 1963. (Public Law 88–251)

1965

S. 348—*The Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965.* Introduced by Senator Dodd. Co-sponsored by Senators Burdick, Fong, Hart, Hartke, Robert Kennedy, Montoya, Ribicoff and Yarborough. This law was developed by

the Subcommittee after several years of investigation into the uncontrolled and indiscriminate manufacture, sale and distribution of dangerous drugs. Seven days of hearings were held by the Subcommittee in three cities (Los Angeles, California; New York City; Washington, D.C.). It was reported to the Labor and Public Welfare Committee which held three days of hearings at which Senator DODD was the major witness. Labor and Public Welfare reported the bill to the Senate on June 21, 1965 and President Johnson signed it into law on July 15, 1965. On that date President Johnson in his published remarks on the signing said: "Certainly, very special mention is due for the courageous public leadership offered to this cause (the control of dangerous drugs) by Senator TOM DODD, of Connecticut. He was the author of the forerunner of the present Act, which passed the Senate last year." (Public Law 89–74)

1966

S. 2152—*The Narcotic Rehabilitation Act of 1966.* Introduced by Senator DODD. Co-sponsored by Senators Bayh, Burdick, Ervin, Fong, Gruening, Hartke, Javits, Lausche, Robert Kennedy, Ribicoff, Scott, Tydings and Yarborough. During 1966 the Subcommittee held 12 days of legislative hearings on S. 2152, "The Narcotic Rehabilitation Act of 1966," introduced by Senator DODD on behalf of the Administration. This measure was signed into law on November 8, 1966. (Public Law 89–793.)

1967

S. 1425—*A bill to amend Title 18 of the United States Code by prohibiting pandering advertisements in the mails.* Introduced by Senator DODD. Co-sponsored by Senators Bayh, Fong and Thurmond. Referred to the Judiciary Committee. Three days of hearings were conducted by the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee. A similar bill (based on the hearings of the Subcommittee) was passed as part of the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967. (Public Law 90–206)

Amendments No. 90 to S. 1—The State Firearms Control Assistance Act. Introduced by Senator DODD. Co-sponsored by Senators Clark, Fong, Edward Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Smathers and Tydings. Referred to the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee. Twenty-one days of investigative hearings followed by eight days of legislative hearings were held by the Subcommittee on this legislation. The bill was ordered reported to the Judiciary Committee September 20, 1967. The legislation was passed as Title IV of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. (Public Law 90–351, June 19, 1968.)

S. 3633—*The Gun Control Act of 1968.* Introduced by Senator Dodd. Cosponsored by Senators Brewster, Brooke, Case, Clark, Fong, Griffin, Hartke, Inouye, Javits, Lausche, McIntyre, Magnuson, Mondale, Monroney, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Percy, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Scott, Smathers, Spong, Tydings and Williams of New Jersey. Referred to the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee. Six days of legislative hearings were held by the Subcommittee and the bill was reported to the Judiciary Committee on June 12, 1968. The "Gun Control Act of 1968" was passed into law on October 22, 1968. (Public Law 90–618)

S. 2950—*Auto Master Key Bill.* A bill to amend Title 18 of the United States Code by prescribing criminal penalties for the illegal manufacture and interstate distribution of automobile master keys. Introduced by Senator Dodd. Five days of hearings were held by the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee. A similar House bill (based on the hearings of the Subcommittee) was passed regulating the mailing of master keys. (Public Law 90–560, October 12, 1968)

S. 1248—*The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1968,* to provide for the training and recruitment of personnel in the juvenile correctional field to develop a model juvenile correctional system, to provide Federal assistance for juvenile courts, probation departments and correctional institutions and to incorporate new methods of delinquency prevention in the public school system. *Introduced by Senator* Dodd. Hearings were conducted by the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty at which Senator Dodd gave the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee's position on this bill as the lead-off witness. (Public Law 90—, July 31, 1968.)

Amendments to S. 1248—to incorporate new methods of delinquency prevention in the public school systems of the United States. Introduced by Senator Dodd. The amendment was adopted by the Senate on July 8, 1968.

1970

S. 1895—*The Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969.* Introduced by Senator Dodd. To reorganize and coordinate control of the narcotic and drug abuse laws under the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Department of Justice. Hearings held before the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee September 15, 17, 18, 24, 25, 26, and 29, and October 20, 1969. Reintroduced by Senator Dodd along with Senator Hruska as S. 3246, *The Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970.* Reported from the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee December 16, 1969 and signed into law on October 27, 1970. (Public Law 91–513)

WEDNESDAY, *June 30, 1971.*

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, the untimely passing of former U.S. Senator THOMAS J. DODD ended a long life of dedication to public service, although this modest man limited his own biography to two lines in the Congressional Directory.

FBI agent, assistant U.S. attorney, and principal prosecutor at the Nüremberg trials, his career in the House of Representatives and the Senate covered 16 years.

A onetime Connecticut Director of the Youth Administration, he brought to Congress a devotion to the interests of youth and his work on the Senate Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Crime will stand as a monument to his head and heart.

TOM DODD was a humble man with human faults; and friendship survived the tests of time—for no man was held in higher esteem as the faithful husband and loving father. He will be sorely missed by his beloved wife, Grace, his splendid children, and all his friends.

Almost the last act of the Senate on December 31, 1970, was to vote that there be printed as a Senate document the tributes of his colleagues to TOM DODD on the occasion of his retirement.

May these sincere sentiments, expressed in his lifetime, be a treasured legacy to his loved ones to whom we of the Senate offer our heartfelt sympathy.

TUESDAY, *July 6, 1971.*

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I wish to join other Members of this body who have paid tribute to the memory of the late Senator THOMAS DODD of Connecticut.

I doubt that I need to remind Senators of Senator DODD's great devotion to his country and of his unswerving opposition to its Communist enemies. It is entirely possible that Senator DODD contributed as much as, if not more than, most Members of Congress to the security of our Nation during the dangerous years of the cold war.

Mr. President, I do not feel that any remarks made to honor the memory of Senator DODD would be complete without a reference to an unfortunate act once taken by the Senate to censure Senator DODD on the basis of newspaper charges of a highly questionable character. It was my privilege at that time to oppose this unfortunate action taken against an honorable Member of this body who had served his State and Nation in exemplary fashion.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to say that in the passing of Connecticut's TOM DODD this Nation lost a stalwart, steadfast, and fearless friend.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I join with other Senators in expressing my sadness over the death of Senator THOMAS DODD.

Senator DODD was a man who believed that it was man's first duty to fight for those principles on which a free society depends. He was an unrelenting enemy of the dark despotism which descended on Eastern Europe after World War II. He never spared himself in the unending battle to keep Americans strong in their determination to resist tyranny.

All of us who knew Senator DODD—his friends in the Senate and his legions of friends across the Nation—remember him for invaluable service to the Nation he loved.

WEDNESDAY, *July 7, 1971.*

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to a former colleague, and friend, TOM DODD, of Connecticut, who passed away May 24, 1971. Senator DODD was a hard-working and effective public servant who served in this body with distinction for 12 years, starting in January 1958. Senator DODD and I both began our Senate service on that date.

During his tenure in the Senate, and prior to it, Senator DODD, who was a "fighter" for the causes in which he believed, carved out for himself a long and distinguished career. Starting as a senior law student at Yale, TOM DODD organized a group of articulate students

who made crusading New Deal speeches for Franklin D. Roosevelt. These activities brought this bright young student to the attention of Homer Cummings, who was designated to be appointed Attorney General. After his appointment, the new Attorney General persuaded TOM DODD that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had a place for a young crusader such as himself. TOM DODD joined the Federal Bureau of Investigation and stayed with that organization until 1934, when he left it to become Connecticut director of the National Youth Administration. In this capacity he helped to establish educational and job opportunities for depression-deprived young people.

I think it should be noted that TOM DODD retained his interest in assisting the youth of this country during his service in the Senate by his effective and active chairmanship of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency.

After getting the Connecticut NYA program organized and running smoothly, TOM DODD joined the Department of Justice and served as a trial attorney until he was selected as chief trial counsel for the Nazi war crimes prosecution at Nuremberg, Germany. At the conclusion of these lengthy trials, Senator DODD returned to Connecticut and practiced law in Hartford until 1952, when he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served two terms prior to his election to the Senate.

Mr. President, Senator DODD and I came to the Senate together in the class of 1958. He served his State and his country well and made many lasting contributions during his Senate service, especially in the field of foreign relations and internal security. He was an effective and courageous fighter, who took many stands which were unpopular at the time, but which, in many instances, subsequently proved to be correct. I recall one instance when Senator DODD repeatedly called attention to Castro's Communist connections, even though certain segments of the press and the administration were still supporting the Castro regime. Within 2 years, both the administration and the press had come around to Senator DODD's position, and both had dropped their support of Castro.

I could cite numerous examples of Tom Dodd's political and personal courage; however, I think that is unnecessary, since all who knew him were certainly aware of that attribute.

If there was any hallmark of Senator Dodd's Senate service, it was his courage to take the stand dictated by his conscience, regardless of the political implications.

Mr. President, I take this opportunity to express my deepest condolences to his devoted wife, Grace, and to the Dodd children. They have lost a devoted husband and father, and this country has lost one of its stanchest, and most effective fighters for freedom.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, other Senators who have spoken before me have testified very eloquently to the distinguished record Tom Dodd compiled in the Senate. I will not recite these accomplishments again except to say that his record of public service will serve as a lasting testimony to his courage, his patriotism, and the intelligence and fortitude to champion the difficult and controversial causes which became a hallmark of Tom Dodd's career.

Passing time will not diminish nor will the adverse circumstances resulting in his censure by his colleagues overshadow the demonstrable fact that Tom Dodd was an American patriot of the first order who loved his country above all else and spent his life protecting its security and making of it a better place to live.

No man who has ever served in this body possessed a more sincere and dedicated commitment to the preservation of individual and national freedom. His effective and unyielding war against the forces of communism, his relentless war against organized crime, drug addiction, juvenile delinquency and on behalf of effective gun control, bear out how effective a Senator Tom Dodd was.

As a friend and as a fellow human being, I best remember Tom Dodd as a loyal and compassionate man, sensitive and kind, with a determined faith in the essential goodness of his fellow man.

I was privileged to be very close to the most trying period of his life. Throughout his courageous efforts to defend his innocence of the charges which resulted in his censure by his fellow Senators, Tom Dodd showed remarkable composure and character.

During the years that have passed I have had occasion to reflect upon the matter and to see it with the advantage of detached perspective. What was involved was the fact that this man of modest means went into debt by approximately $150,000 during the course of two campaigns for a seat in the U.S. Senate. He incurred very heavy personal debts which he and his wife sought to carry and keep current. The debt structure was initially politically oriented, but as the couple borrowed from Peter to pay Paul down through the years, what started out as a clearly political debt structure came to look more and more like a debt structure of private expenses. When, after many years, TOM DODD undertook to retire his debts, the only way he could do it was by means of political fund-raising activities in view of the fact that his personal credit had become so deeply indentured to pay the expenses of political activities.

The Senator, in my judgment, had every right to retire this debt structure out of money donated for political purposes. As a matter of fact, it has always seemed to me that any court of competent jurisdiction would have permitted any of the Senator's creditors to attach and collect any political funds within the control of the Senator in order to obtain payment of his honest debt. Therefore, I have never been able to see the reason why any man should be censured for paying debts honestly owed with money over which he had exclusive control, particularly if he was doing that which a court of law would require him to do anyway. For these reasons, it seemed extremely unfair to me that a man was censured for doing what the law would require him to do.

I am aware of the fact that we have subsequently passed a Code of Ethics which prevents a person from using political funds to pay personal expenses. Had such a rule been in effect before the matter arose, it would have been easy enough for the Senator to have segregated his political debts and kept them apart in such a fashion that it would have been clear to anyone that the debts which he paid with political funds were debts which were political debts from the start.

Furthermore, Mr. President, I have not the slightest doubt that had I and others who defended TOM DODD on the floor of the Senate been involved in his defense from the beginning, we would have prevailed. We would have presented to the Committee on Ethics the case

which was presented on the floor of the Senate, and, had we done so, I hardly think that we would have been confronted with a unanimous recommendation of censure by the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

As one who has made some mistakes in his life and prayed for forgiveness,I say, with the deepest conviction within me, that standing beside TOM DODD in his hour of trial was not a mistake. If my Maker should some day call upon me to list the good things I think I have done in life in order that they may be weighed on a scale against the mistakes which I know I have made, I would most assuredly place my defense of TOM DODD among the best things that I believe I have done in life. It cost me dearly at the time in prestige and influence but if I had it to do over again the only things about it that I would do differently would be that I would start sooner and work harder!

I defended TOM DODD before this body because I believed, and still hold him to be innocent of any misconduct as a Senator. The more serious allegations were ultimately defeated for the simple reason that they were in error. He should never have been censured, but censured he was, and when the decision of his colleagues was rendered against him. TOM DODD took it like a man that he was, and, his head bloody but unbowed, continued to represent the people of his State with dignity.

If grace under pressure, and courage in adversity, are the measures of a man's character, TOM DODD passed the test.

I am proud to be known as a friend of TOM DODD. His passing was a grievous loss to his country, his family, and to us all. A full and accurate history will be kind to his memory.

MONDAY, *July 12, 1971.*

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the death of a neighbor and former colleague brings sadness to any of us, and in this regard I join with those who express their regret at the death of Senator DODD. He was a courageous Member of our body who had behind him a long and distinguished career in the law.

I particularly admired Senator DODD's long and tireless efforts to place effective and reasonable controls on the sale and distribution of firearms and his efforts to find solutions to the problems of juvenile delinquency.

I know, too, what a wonderful family man was Senator DODD and how full of grief must be the hearts of his wife and children. To them and to all his friends, I extend my utmost sympathy.

WEDNESDAY, *July 14, 1971.*

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I rise today to express my sorrow at the death of Senator THOMAS DODD and wish to extend my condolences to his family.

THOMAS DODD made many contributions to the people of this country. As a prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials after World War II, he helped establish the principle that citizens of any country have the highest moral duty to their fellow men; and that this duty in times of war as well as peace comes before duty to governmental dictate. As a member of the Armed Services Committee, he helped assure, through his dedication and foresight, that this country would be prepared to defend itself against any aggressor. And, most importantly, he showed high purpose and courage when he introduced and successfully sought the passage of a significant gun crime measure. Utilizing his experience as a former law enforcement officer and maintaining an independent stance from heavy organized pressure, he persuaded many of his Senate colleagues of its wisdom.

A man's achievements are his best testimonial and TOM DODD had many proud achievements and our society will continue to benefit from his efforts long after any words are forgotten.

I express my deepest regrets to his wife, Grace, and the members of his family.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I have learned of the passing of former Senator THOMAS DODD, of Connecticut. At this time of sorrow, I extend to all of his loved ones my most sincere sympathy.

Senator DODD will be remembered by the U.S. Senate. On many occasions, he took the floor of the Senate, and, in his speech, with force and clarity, spoke out for our country. Senator DODD was a patriot. He gave no comfort to the enemies of our country. He understood the evils of international communism, and his voice and his influence were always used to combat that evil. Senator DODD was not a stranger to controversy, yet, through it all, he retained a host of friends.

THURSDAY, *February 3, 1972.*

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that eulogies expressed by Senators with respect to our late, departed former colleague, Senator THOMAS J. DODD, be printed as a Senate document.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROCEEDINGS
IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Proceedings in the House

TUESDAY, *May 25, 1971.*

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I have the sad duty of announcing the death of a dear friend of mine and a one-time Member of this body, THOMAS J. DODD, who died on Monday in Old Lyme, Conn. TOM DODD was well known to most of the Members of this body. He served in this House for two terms, being elected in 1952 and 1954, and subsequent to that time he was for two terms a Member of the other body.

In addition to his congressional career, he served our Government in other ways over a long period of time. He was for many years an active and effective member of the FBI. He was a director of the NYA. He also served as chief of the prosecuting staff at the Nuremberg Trials after World War II.

He was a courageous fighter for causes in which he believed. He will long be remembered for his fight against drugs and against the spread of crime. He will be remembered for his opposition to the spread of totalitarianism in whatever form it took.

He will be remembered long in our State for his liberal positions on social and economic matters and on legislation which was for the good of our State and country.

TOM DODD was helpful to me on many occasions and I feel a personal loss in his passing.

He leaves a devoted and wonderful family. I know that I express the feelings of all Members of this body when I extend our deep sympathy to Grace Dodd and to the members of his family.

Mr. Speaker, I announce that I shall at a later date ask unanimous consent that I may have a special order devoted to the life and the legislative record of TOM DODD.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, I concur with the remarks of my distinguished colleague from Connecticut and express my deepest sympathy to the family of the late Senator THOMAS DODD.

Mr. COTTER. Mr. Speaker, THOMAS J. DODD, former Member of the House and Senate, died this weekend at his home in Old Lyme, Conn.

TOM spent most of his adult life in public service, beginning as an agent for the FBI, Connecticut director of the National Youth Corps, Assistant to the U.S. Attorney General for 7 years, and the principal prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials.

TOM was elected to serve in the House for the First District, which I am now privileged to represent. He served in the House from 1952 to 1956. Then in 1958 he was elected to the U.S. Senate for the first of two terms and served from 1958 to 1970.

During TOM's tenure in Congress he contributed significantly to many areas. His strong stand on the controversial issue of gun control served to highlight this extremely complex issue. It is a measure of his foresight that his work in drug abuse and juvenile crime have proved the basis for much of the work that is being done today in these vital areas.

I am saddened by his death and to his wife, Grace, and his family I extend my deepest sympathy.

At this point I include in my remarks the following editorial which appeared in the Hartford Courant:

THOMAS J. DODD

THOMAS J. DODD was described as "a gentle sort of man" by an interviewer some years ago. But beneath his soft-spoken manner, dwelt the spirit of a fighter for causes in which he believed, And though he seldom raised his voice, he nonetheless said what he thought, whether it was popular with his party of many years, the Democrats, or anyone else. Perhaps that is why he often received more mail than any other member of the Senate during his two terms with that body, and why he once asserted that he had been accused of being both a left- and a right-winger. That his latter years were clouded by his Senate censure in 1967 for financial misconduct should not diminish the many contributions Mr. DODD made both to his state and his nation.

Many of the crusades upon which Mr. DODD embarked first focused nation-wide attention upon conditions and issues which were to become upper-

most in our priorities. Juvenile delinquency, drug-abuse, civil rights, crime and gun controls were among these. Always an advocate of justice, law and order since his days with the Division of Investigation, the forerunner of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. DODD knew at first-hand crime's causes and effects. His experience as state director on the National Youth Administration helping young persons to get jobs and training during the Depression, surely gained him insight to understanding their problems, adding expertise to his chairing the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency. From that position he contributed his knowledge to formulation of bills to stem delinquency and drug abuse.

Other distinctions in Mr. DODD's long career of public service must include his leading the International Military Tribunal's case against 21 major World War II criminals at Nuremberg which gained him a Presidential citation, the Medal of Freedom and, from Italian President Gronchi in 1958, that nation's Commander of the Order of Merit.

Soon after his election by Connecticut's First District to the House of Representatives, Mr. DODD received the unusual honor for a junior Congressman of being named to the House Foreign Aid Committee. And he served his nation overseas as a representative to Latin America and to the Congo. In addition, Mr. DODD worked for years toward passage of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and was an avid adherent of Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policy collecting and delivering petitions of support from some 40,000 Connecticut residents last year.

Thus, he lived, a man committed to public life, proud of his patriotism and proud to serve his country, selecting what he thought was right, no matter what the party affiliation of its other proponents, and giving no quarter until he had seen the cause through to the end. THOMAS J. DODD must be remembered for that while Connecticut and the nation mourn the loss of a tireless worker for its good as he saw it.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, TOM DODD whose public service began in the FBI and was crowned with two terms in the U.S. Senate, died Monday at his home in Old Lyme. Born on May 15, 1907, in Norwich, he graduated from Providence College and Yale Law School, class of 1933. He then devoted his life to public service. As Jack Zaiman, political editor of the Hartford Courant, so fittingly describes this man once known as the Crusader from Connecticut:

No man looked more like a United States Senator than THOMAS J. DODD. His bushy white hair gave him a sort of regal bearing, and his booming old-style political oratory made him sound like someone whose natural place was in the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, TOM DODD lived with his wife, Grace, in the district I now represent. He will be missed by all who knew him. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Hartford Courant which, in quiet words, succinctly but warmly tells of TOM DODD's dedicated service to Connecticut and his Nation.

THOMAS J. DODD

THOMAS J. DODD was described as "a gentle sort of man" by an interviewer some years ago. But beneath his soft-spoken manner, dwelt the spirit of a fighter for causes in which he believed. And though he seldom raised his voice, he nonetheless said what he thought, whether it was popular with his party of many years, the Democrats, or anyone else. Perhaps that is why he often received more mail any any other member of the Senate during his two terms with that body, and why he once asserted that he had been accused of being both a left- and a right-winger. That his latter years were clouded by his Senate censure in 1967 for financial misconduct should not diminish the many contributions Mr. DODD made both to his state and his nation.

Many of the crusades upon which Mr. DODD embarked first focused nationwide attention upon conditions and issues which were to become uppermost in our priorities. Juvenile delinquency, drug abuse, civil rights, crime and gun controls were among these. Always an advocate of justice, law and order since his days with the Division of Investigation, the forerunner of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. DODD knew at first-hand crime's causes and effects. His experience as state director of the National Youth Administration helping young persons to get jobs and training during the Depression, surely gained him insight to understanding their problems, adding expertise to his chairing the Senate Subcommitteee on Juvenile Delinquency. From that position he contributed his knowledge to formulation of bills to stem delinquency and drug abuse.

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MONDAY, *June 7, 1971.*

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, at the funeral mass for U.S. Senator THOMAS J. DODD on May 26, 1971, Msgr. John S. Kennedy delivered a homily that was beautiful and humane, comforting and compassionate. Because of the exceptional quality of Monsignor Kennedy's remarks, I insert them in the Record for others to read:

SENATOR DODD—MAY 26, 1971

This is the clement season of the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ. He has been taken up into heaven, his mission on earth performed. We contemplate him in glory, all-serene.

What a contrast between his condition and ours! He is beyond the grime and the grief of this world, beyond its cruel rigors and ambiguities, beyond its perplexities and pain. And here we are, liable to uncertainty and temptation, the riddles and absurdities of life, the tedium and fatigue of existence, the weakness of the flesh and the wavering of the spirit, and totally vulnerable.

What link, then, between him, fixed in light, and us, floundering in the dark? It is in his humanity.

Ascended though he is, and long since, he has not shed the humanity common to us and to him. His wounds remain, eternally, as evidence, to quote St. Paul, that "he has been through every trial, fashioned as we are, only sinless . . . a high priest who can feel for us and be our faithful representative before God." And the Great Apostle goes on, "It is because he himself has been tried by suffering that he has power to help us in the trials we undergo."

Those trials include—indeed, culminate in—death.

This we must all endure—its indignity, its mystery, its utter loneliness, its cold finality. The thought of it periodically skims our minds even when we are well, and it shakes our hearts when we are ill. We walk in the sunlight, we exult in the loveliness of spring, but, unless we are giddy, there always lurks at the edge of our vision a hint of the death that is to be. And we wonder, "How will it be with me then?" No need to fear, if we are daily

mindful of the Lord who went through death, and will see us through that same shadowed door.

Another trial is that of bereavement by the death of one we love. While he or she is still with us, we sometimes steal a glance and reflect, "What if I were to lose him?" or "If she dies, how can I bear it?" and we already feel the weight of sorrow, the sting of tears.

There comes a day when the unpredictable blow falls, the sorrow is crushing, the tears flow, and we are desolated. It is then we remember that because Christ our Lord has himself "been tried by suffering . . . he has power to help us in the trials we undergo." This is not illusion; it is truth solid as the rock of Gethsemani. And we are comforted, borne up in hope.

So is it now with THOMAS DODD, who, while the radiance of Ascension Day still brightened the air, was summoned by his time-scarred but triumphant Lord. So is it with the Senator's family, who, while rightly mourning him, are yet wonderfully consoled.

TUESDAY, *June 8, 1971.*

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to open today's special order for our former colleague and a long-time friend of mine, THOMAS J. DODD.

Many of us had the opportunity to work closely with TOM DODD during his two terms in the House and two terms in the Senate. The list of causes he championed during this service is long and impressive. The issues he chose to tackle were often controversial, yet he never hesitated to stand alone if necessary for causes for which he believed.

TOM DODD is perhaps best known for his commitment to a strong national defense in the face of Communist expansion. His efforts in this field served to keep Congress alert to our international goals, and to keep us prepared against threats to those goals.

The scope of Senator DODD's interests went far beyond defense, however. His most courageous individual fight was for gun control, and despite powerful forces massed against him, his efforts contributed to legislation which, though not as strong as he wanted, was still landmark legislation.

As a family man he had a deep interest in the problems of youth, and as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, he did much to improve public awareness of this increasingly difficult problem. He called the Nation's attention to the close connection between television violence and child behavior. He was also an early advocate of strict narcotics control.

TOM DODD'S accomplishments were not limited to his congressional career. He was for many years prior to congressional service an active member of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He was also an able lawyer, and following World War II, he established an outstanding record as Chief U.S. Trial Counselor at the Nuremberg war crimes trials.

Throughout his career, TOM DODD remained consistent in one important respect—his individualism and courage. His career was original. I am hopeful that this is how he will be remembered. He took his stand for right as he saw it. His position often generated controversy, but such controversy led to useful and enlightening national debate.

TOM DODD'S contributions to the country were thus important ones. He leaves a legacy of legislative interest that should be remembered in assessing his career.

Above all I remember him for his wit and his sparkle, for the pleasure of his company, and for the generous and kindly assistance he so often rendered to me and to others.

At this time, I should like to offer the sympathy of the House to Grace Dodd and to all members of the Dodd family.

I include at this point several newspaper articles and editorials which express some of the popular feelings for Senator DODD:

DODD REMEMBERED AS A BRAVE LONER

(By John Chamberlain)

The obituaries for former Sen. TOM DODD of Connecticut could hardly avoid the fact that his career was badly damaged by the censure of his colleagues for accepting testimonial dinner money as a gift. DODD always claimed innocence of wrongdoing, but I don't want to belabor the question here. What is fitting at this particular time is to recall the senator's great courage as a loner who was always willing to go against the 'fraidy cats on specific issues involving what he conceived to be the safety of his country.

Thinking back in time, there was his speech in the Senate on the subject of Nikita Khrushchev's Berlin ultimatum. Khrushchev had been rattling his rockets and threatening blood-chilling things if we failed to go along with Soviet plans for West Berlin. There were many senators who counselled a crawling response, but DODD said we should stand fast for our own rights. The speech, as veterans of the Cold War remember it, turned the Senate around. Among his colleagues, John F. Kennedy and Jacob Javits were quick to congratulate him. The record says that Khrushchev, impressed by U.S. steadfastness, backed down.

Then there was the time President Eisenhower issued that invitation to Khrushchev to visit America. DODD deplored the whole business. It did him no good, for Ike refused to change his mind and Khrushchev came anyway. But the senator had been willing to stand alone for a principle.

In 1960 DODD supported Lyndon Johnson for the Presidential nomination, and this at a time that a great majority of northern Democrats were for John Kennedy as a "sure thing." It could have gone badly for TOM DODD were it not for the unforeseen fact that J.F.K., letting his desire to win the South overcome his antipathies, decided to put L.B.J. on the ticket in the vice presidential slot.

When the first nuclear test moratorium was being considered DODD warned the country that the Soviets would terminate a mutual ban whenever it appeared to their advantage to do so. DODD wasn't listened to, but subsequent events proved him to have been an accurate prophet.

His ability to predict Communist behavior was borne out by what happened in Laos after Averell Harriman, as J.F.K.'s envoy, agreed to a coalition settlement. As DODD had warned, the Communists violated their agreement almost before the ink was dry on it.

DODD was also on record with a warning against Fidel Castro when the bearded rebel was still in the Sierra Maestra.

When Jack Kennedy approved the UN expedition against Moise Tshambe in Katanga, DODD pointed out that the whole business constituted a flagrant interference with the internal affairs of the Congo. As such, it was a violation of the UN Charter. The Katanga episode set a precedent for much of our behavior in Vietnam.

As a final instance of TOM DODD's willingness to stand alone, his vote in the Lewis Strauss confirmation proceedings might be singled out. Strauss was being considered for secretary of commerce and the Northern Democrats were almost unanimous in their opposition. DODD pointed out that they were victimizing Strauss because he had opposed giving security clearance to physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, who had admitted to having both Communists and fellow-traveler friends. The stand taken by DODD's northern colleagues had nothing to do with Strauss's qualifications for the commerce portfolio, but confirmation was refused anyway.

The censure vote hurt Tom Dodd's effectiveness as a foreign policy spokesman for a couple of years, but in 1969 he was back in good form. Several of his speeches anticipated the Nixon Doctrine of "low-profile" support for anti-Communist nations. A heart attack hurt the senator's chances for re-election in 1970, but he gamely fought it out as an unsuccessful Independent candidate to succeed himself. His courage was there to the last, and it is for courage that many of us will want to remember him.

[From the Meriden Journal, May 25, 1971]

Death of Senator Dodd

"The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones."

So spoke Mark Anthony on the death of Julius Caesar, in Shakespeare's version of the funeral oration.

For Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut citizens should reverse the order. Sen. Dodd's death yesterday at the age of 64 marks the end of a career more than ordinarily marked by both good and evil, politically and morally. In his case, it is the good that should be remembered.

In 1967 the U.S. Senate censured Dodd for his alleged misuse of campaign funds, thereby bringing shame to the name of his state. Dodd was charged with appropriating at least $6,083 from campaign funds for his personal use. He was never charged with any criminal wrongdoing, and there are many who believe that by voting 92 to 5 to censure him his fellows were guilty in the very least of hypocrisy. Among the time-honored ground rules of political operation, his biggest crime, in relation to his fellows, may well have consisted in having been caught.

The censure incident had the effect of obscuring a career that was often controversial, usually original, and sometimes heroic. One of the tragedies of Dodd's personal disgrace was its effect on his best and bravest campaign, to pass legislation tightening controls on the sale and use of guns. Compared in importance to this issue, Dodd's personal peccadilloes shrink to insignificance.

Dodd was, in fact, something of an off horse, often in unexpected directions. He was an early champion of stricter narcotics control and he raised a storm with his charges of the harm that violence on television was doing to our children and our society in general. He was an early anti-Castroite, and a consistent opponent of anything that was tinged with communism. Last year he was virtually the only Democrat in Congress to support President Nixon's decision to send troops into Cambodia.

Not necessarily a great Senator, not always a good one, Thomas J. Dodd nevertheless lived his public life by the rules as he understood them, and

took his stand for the right as he saw it. He was a colorful figure, and time and again he demonstrated that he had true grit. The Connecticut scene becomes more drab with his departure.

[From the Waterbury (Conn.) Republican, May 25, 1971]

THOMAS J. DODD

Former U.S. Sen. THOMAS J. DODD's sudden death at 64 has taken from the Connecticut scene one of the most controversial figures in its political history. Few could remain neutral about DODD. His supporters hailed his long history of fighting communism, his outstanding record as chief U.S. trial counselor at the Nuremberg war crimes trials following World War II, and his continued battle for gun control legislation.

His opponents were quick to respond with the fact that he had been censured for wrong-doing by the U.S. Senate. The censure was the primary reason DODD was not considered for the nomination by the Democratic Party for another term. He ran as an independent candidate in the election and was dropped from the party rolls. But DODD was still a Democrat, regardless of the law which deprived him of his membership in the party.

DODD was a most colorful figure throughout his career. No one ever looked more like a senator than he. He was a most skilled orator and when he was at his best, was exceedingly convincing.

DODD was never averse to maintaining an independent position even in the Democratic Party. One of the highlights of his career involved the 1960 presidential campaign. Although the Democratic leaders of the state backed the late John Kennedy for the presidential nomination, DODD was for Lyndon Johnson. He was all smiles when Kennedy astounded many political leaders by picking Johnson for his running mate.

Connecticut Democrats were even more astounded four years later when the word got out at the national convention that Johnson had summoned Sen. DODD to Washington (along with Hubert Humphrey) to discuss a vice-presidential candidate.

It will take some time before the state witnesses another figure who is as colorful and prominent as was Sen. DODD.

POLITICAL LEADERS JOIN DODD MEMORIAL RITES

WEST HARTFORD.—The politically high and mighty mingled with common folks Wednesday as last rites were performed for former Sen. THOMAS J. DODD.

A requiem mass was sung at St. Thomas the Apostle Church for the former Democratic senator, a political Goliath in Connecticut until four years ago when he was censured by the Senate for converting campaign funds to personal use.

Even after the censure, DODD retained respect and affection. At the services, Democratic Sen. Abraham Ribicoff and Republican Sen. Lowell Weicker paid their respects as the Most Rev. Joseph F. Donnelley, auxiliary bishop of the Archdiocese of Hartford, and the Most Rev. Vincent J. Hines, bishop of Norwich, recited the Mass.

The 900-seat church was filled to capacity. Among the dignitaries present were Gov. Thomas J. Meskill and State Democratic Chairman John M. Bailey.

The flag-draped coffin was taken to the Dodd family plot in the Pawcatuck section of Stonington, the town where the family lived before moving recently to Old Lyme.

About 200 persons attended the 10-minute burial service, and DODD's body was laid to rest at a gravesite on the top of a small hill.

DODD died of a heart attack early Monday in the Old Lyme home.

The St. Thomas Seminary choir sang "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," a Protestant hymn by Martin Luther, and concluded the service with "America The Beautiful."

The black-veiled widow followed the coffin from the church. On her left was one of the former senator's six children, Thomas Jr.

Tuesday, two public wakes for DODD drew hundreds more to honor the man who made a name as a stern anti-Communist, a crusader against drugs and televised violence and an outspoken advocate of stiff anti-gun laws.

James Boyd, a former DODD Senate aide who was largely responsible for exposing DODD's financial dealings, said Wednesday he was not especially proud that he helped cause DODD's political downfall.

He said, however, he was proud of exposing the facts that led to the censure.

His remarks were made in a telephone interview with Hartford radio station WPOP. Boyd now heads an organization in Washington called the "Fund for Investigative Journalism."

Letters and telegrams of condolence streamed into the family home from the highest levels, including messages from President Nixon and former President Johnson.

Mr. Nixon hailed DODD as a man "who never failed to put the national interest above party politics or personal ambition."

[From the Bridgeport Post, May 30, 1971]

HISTORY WILL JUDGE DODD

(By Carey Cronan)

WASHINGTON.—The case of THOMAS J. DODD will probably be the subject of controversy for many years to come.

But despite the censure of the Senate many believe that the record of the late Connecticut legislator will leave its mark in the annals of Congress.

He was the prime mover for gun control legislation and his constant agitation for tighter drug controls helped to spur many pieces of legislation in this field.

His hearings on juvenile delinquency and prison conditions did not result in any noteworthy legislation but they helped to keep Congress and the public aware of mounting problems in these areas.

HIS PHILOSOPHY

While he was generally regarded as a liberal on domestic matters Senator DODD was an independent in the foreign affairs field. He was an inveterate foe of Communism and as vice chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee presided over most of the executive sessions which delved into matters that were seldom publicized to the fullest. He warned against the menace of Castro Communism long before the Cuban dictator was exposed as a fraud.

He spoke out on the Congo and he advocated tax deductions for college education costs. His record as chief trial counsel to Justice Robert Jackson at Nuremberg for 18 months was a noteworthy accomplishment in the public service.

ASKED INVESTIGATION

Historians should remember that TOM DODD might never have been investigated by the Senate if he had not himself demanded it. In this he was probably the unwilling victim of a psychological newspaper war by writers using material stolen from the senatorial files.

But future students will probably ask time and again why if the Senate thought TOM DODD was guilty of misconduct they did not strip him of his seniority and his official posts in the Senate.

Why, if the Senate thought him guilty, did the Department of Justice find no grounds on which to prosecute him?

Why did so many Connecticut contributors to his testimonial affairs refuse to say that they were concerned in any way with the use of funds donated to the Senator?

Why did the Senate Ethics Committee reject completely much of the so-called evidence against him, and refuse even to consider it or to question those involved in much of it?

Why was the conduct of some of his staff members kept from the hearing record?

Why did the Justice Department take no action against those who stole and copied the Senator's files on so many personal and possibly top secret matters?

To many the Senate language of the censure that Mr. DODD's actions reflected on the Senate was rather vague. The case did not involve government money. It dealt only with funds given to the Senator by his constituents and friends.

And too, the question as to just what is a political expenditure has never really been settled.

As Senator Lee Metcalf put it when Senator DODD finished his second term: "He was more sinned against than sinning." Future historians will have to judge the case when the emotion has died down and the picture can be seen in all its stark truth.

[From the Waterbury American, May 25, 1971]

DODD PRAISED BY LAWMAKERS

STATE CAPITOL.—Both political parties in both chambers of the General Assembly Monday joined together to eulogize former U.S. Sen. THOMAS J. DODD, who died at his home early Monday.

"He made great contributions to the state and the country and history will prove him one of the greatest senators to serve this country," summed up Sen. J. Edward Caldwell, D-Bridgeport, the Senate majority leader.

Nor did the legislator shy away from DODD's censure by the Senate.

"He was a fighter and never backed off," said Rep. Carl Ajello, D-Ansonia, House majority leader. "His head was not bowed even when trouble was heaped upon it."

"History will vindicate TOM DODD," said Rep. John F. Papandrea, D-Meriden. "Just examine his record. He stood a true American."

Senate Minority Leader Alden A. Ives, R-Morris, said that DODD was "a man of great dedication and conviction, something our federal Congress can use more of."

A colleague from the past, Rep. Robert King, D-Tolland, who served with DODD as a fellow prosecutor in the Nuremberg war crime trials, said many of the precedents of these tribunals could be attributed to the "hard work and persistence TOM DODD gave the job."

King said DODD often was a "lonely man, but always believed in what he was doing and what he did he did well."

"America has lost a great man," King said.

Rep. Otha Brown, D-Norwalk, referred to DODD's censure as something "that made all of us re-evaluate our own moral positions."

"Let those among you who are without sin cast the first stone," Brown said.

"He had courage and what he thought was right, he thought was right," said Rep. Morris Hogan, R-Burlington. "He was willing to fight for principle and never gave in on principle for the sake of votes."

"TOM DODD never met a man he couldn't look in the eye," said Rep. John D. Mahaney, D-Waterbury. Rep. Thomas McNellis said DODD was a man of courage and principle who "represented his people with heart."

"If ever courage and indomitable spirit was shown it was when TOM DODD stood a beleaguered figure," said Rep. Nicholas Longo, R-West Hartford. "He was a good man, a great man."

House Minority Leader Francis Collins, R-Brookfield said DODD was a Democrat with "many friends on both sides of the aisle."

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, TOM DODD died in the quiet serenity of a May night—a night filled with the pungent sweetness of a Connecticut spring.

The sturdy yellow house on Lyme Street where he and Grace made their home was full of love and affection of family and friend, as had been every dwelling that they called home.

TOM DODD left a legacy of love and faith that was reflected in the long line of mourners at his bier and in the quiet tears of men and women whose lives had found new hope and new direction because of his assistance.

He was my Congressman and my Senator. As his constituent I know of the times without number that he responded swiftly, efficiently, and humanely to help relieve a family's distress or some personal grief.

The records of this Government will chronicle those achievements that were TOM DODD's efforts to build a better world for the abused, the suffering and the oppressed, to find release of nations and people in bondage. Most of all we will remember his fierce and passionate love of country.

I shall cherish forever our last visit together in the sunny village marketplace of Old Lyme just 2 weeks before he died. I waited my turn as he held court with new neighbors who were delighted and proud that he and Grace had selected this town for their home. We shared happy banter of old and dear friends and talked of plans of hopeful days to come.

The days of his retirement were all too brief—the respite from the storms of combat all too short.

Yet, even as he lies in the earth of his beloved eastern Connecticut where he was born and where he died, that rich and vibrant voice echoes the requiem:

> Here he lies where he longed to be
> Home is the sailor, home from the sea
> And the hunter home from the hill.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, I have had the pleasure of knowing the late TOM DODD and his lovely wife Grace for many years. I knew TOM during several different periods of his three decades of public service, and know how much his wife and family were a source of both strength and encouragement during his lifetime. To Grace and the Dodd family, my wife and I offer our deepest sympathy.

Our sense of loss, however, is tempered by our gratitude in Connecticut and in America for a man who began working long ago on problems which only recently have become popular "causes."

A man thoroughly familiar with the causes and effects of violent crime, Senator DODD was also a leader in the movement for civil rights and social justice.

A director of the National Youth Administration in Connecticut, TOM DODD showed early his concern for the young and the problems they have in finding appropriate training and useful work. His later chairmanship of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency was a forum for personal leadership on legislation to curb delinquency and control the abuse of narcotics and other drugs.

TOM DODD's longtime fight for gun control was another manifestation of his training in law and early experience with the division of investigation, forerunner of the FBI. Most importantly, TOM's dedication to the spirit of a society of laws gave him the insight and the stature to deal with extremism of both the right and left.

An internationalist, proud of America's constructive postwar foreign aid works, TOM DODD was also keenly aware of the historical value and modern necessity to maintain America's balance of strength in arms and in diplomacy. He worked for the nuclear test ban treaty because he thought that treaty to be in the Nation's and the world's

best interest, but he also worked to guard against erosion of our military strength.

Sadly for some, however, these and other examples of TOM DODD'S independence and dedication are put into focus only by his death. As a recent editorial in the Hartford, Conn., Courant said:

> That his latter years were clouded by his Senate censure in 1967 for financial misconduct should not diminish the many contributions Mr. DODD made both to his State and his Nation.

If history judges us all by our faults, TOM DODD'S will be found on balance to be small. If, on the other hand, we are to be remembered for work well done, for courage and straight language, and for accomplishments that contribute to a greater good, TOM DODD'S career will exemplify those qualities. We who knew him salute that career, mourn his loss, but are and will remain grateful for his leadership.

Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the newspaper Roll Call is a substantial contribution to the written record of TOM DODD'S career, and I insert this article.

Mr. Speaker, in addition, a recent editorial on TV station WTNH in New Haven, Conn., characterized the independence with which TOM DODD served Conneticut and the Nation and I insert this editorial also.

The articles follow:

[From the Roll Call, June 3, 1971]

THOMAS DODD: A LONELY FIGHTER

(By Allan C. Brownfeld)

When he was censured by the United States Senate they said of THOMAS DODD that he was corrupt, and his friends said that, no he wasn't corrupt, he was simply like all of the others, and that if he was censured then they should all be censured. Perhaps this only reflects the cynicism of our own age, and it is possible that our overlooking the faults of others is simply a reaffirmation of our own faults and our rejection of the idea of sin. For, in a world in which nothing is right and nothing is wrong, who is fit to cast judgment?

Now THOMAS DODD is dead, and many who attacked him in life have cast aside their harsh appraisals and replaced them with the sugar-coated

remembrances that are no more than a sham. If the life, career, and death of Senator Dodd have any meaning at all for us, it may be in a manner we will not want to hear.

For, rather than appearing corrupt, this life casts a far different image upon today's political scene. A pirate, when he was brought before the Emperor Alexander, declared that "I, for stealing some jewels, am called a pirate and an outlaw. You, for stealing the whole world, are declared emperor." Thomas Dodd may not have been fastidious in his handling of the matters of his life, but in the things which are, in reality, the life and death questions of our civilization he was a valiant, and often a lonely, fighter.

Senator Dodd, as chief trial counsel at Nuremberg in 1945–46, said that he was privy to "an autopsy of history's most horrible catalogue of human crime." It was here that he also became an arch foe of Communism and he was angered by the effort of the Soviet prosecutors to blame Nazis for the massacre of 15,000 captured Polish officers at Katyn forest, a massacre which Dodd claimed and later history has proven was performed by the Russians themselves.

"I learned of the desperation and terror of hundreds of thousands of Russian war prisoners and slave laborers held by the Nazis whom we, through ignorance, returned against their will to the Soviet authorities," Dodd told The Reader's Digest. "I am still tormented by accounts of mass suicides in which men slashed their wrists with tin cans and women jumped with their children from upper-story windows rather than face return to Russia."

Thomas Dodd lived through an era in which many members of his party said that Communism was no longer a threat, and he died at a time when the leadership of the other party was making conciliatory sounds toward both the Russians and the Communist Chinese. Politics in the partisan sense was never of any importance to him. What mattered most was a strong national defense and a concern for freedom. This made Senator Dodd an increasingly lonely figure in a Senate dominated by those who sought not either defense or dignity, but simply followed the public opinion polls which indicated restlessness with a lingering war and an urge for a new isolationism. Those who fight the times do not always have an easy end. Would Jack Anderson and Drew Pearson, many ask, have launched an attack upon William Fulbright or George McGovern? The answer, these critics state, can easily be seen. In this sense, Senator Dodd paid not only for the data on his tax returns but for his steadfast opinions, which did not follow the tide of the times.

This writer had the opportunity to be associated with Senator Dodd for several years. When making a pronouncement about matters of foreign policy and defense he never consulted the polls, and he never took a count of the letters for and the letters against. His concern was what policy would best advance freedom, what policy would convince world Communism that aggression would not be permitted to succeed, what policy would best maintain

the security of our own country. He supported the war in Vietnam, he opposed east-west trade, he defended our commitment to the Nationalist Chinese—not because it was popular, but because it was right. How many men who voted to censure THOMAS DODD can say that they base their votes on principle and not on convenience? Unfortunately, we will never know.

They told Senator DODD that the Communists were no longer a danger, and that we needed to "reorder priorities." Despite the fact that he was long a domestic liberal, in favor of labor unions and gun control and civil rights, he recognized that without a firm posture in the world all of the domestic "priorities" mattered little. And when they told him he was not modern and was "behind the times," it seems that he simply wondered what they meant.

In his book, The Fish Can Sing, the Icelandic writer Halldor Laxness confronts one of his characters with a young man who believes in neither ghost stories nor any things unseen. In response, he states: "Mankind's spiritual values have all been created from a belief in all the things the philosophers reject. . . . How are you going to live if you reject not only the Barber of Seville but also the cultural value of ghost stories.

If it were to be proved scientifically or historically or even judicially that the Resurrection is not particularly well authenticated by evidence—are you then going to reject the B-minor Mass? Do you want to close St. Peter's Cathedral because it has come to light that it is the symbol of a mistaken philosophy and would be more useful as a stable? What a catastrophe that Giotto and Fra Angelico should have become enmeshed in a false ideology as painters, instead of adhering to realism. The story of the Virgin Mary is obviously just another falsehood invented by knaves and any man is a fraud who allows himself to sigh, 'Pietra Signor.' "

Somehow, Senator DODD believed all of the old American ideas about individual freedom and human dignity and the need to oppose tyranny and oppression. What kind of "liberals" are they, he wondered, who could overlook Red China's rape of Tibet, the Soviet Union's persecution of Jews, the deprivation of freedom to millions of men, women, and children in Eastern Europe? If in order to be elected to public office you must leave your conscience on the doorstep maybe, he may have mused, it just isn't worth it.

Too many Members of Congress, and of the press corps, have become mere faddists. Senator DODD would have agreed with C. S. Lewis when he said "We must condemn . . . the uncritical acceptance of the intellectual climate common to our own age and the assumption that whatever has gone out of date is on that account discredited. You must find out why it went out of date. Was it ever refuted? And if so by whom, where, and how conclusively? Or did it merely die away as fashions do? If the latter, this tells us nothing about its truth or falsehood. From seeing this, one passes to the realization that our own age is also a 'period' and certainly has like all periods its own characteristic illusions."

And so, a life is ended. But it was a life which, in the important things, was true to a standard far different from that of the roar of the crowd. THOMAS DODD saw the evils of Nazism and Communism firsthand. He recoiled from their horror only to find in his own country a growing unwillingness to confront evil.

Some will only remember of this man that he was censured by the Senate for income tax irregularities. But that may be the least important thing of all, and we ourselves may have fallen to such a depth that we can no longer recognize the heroic qualities in others. THOMAS DODD fought a lonely battle for the things upon which Western civilization is based and we must hope that in the next generation there will be enough of those to fight this same battle so that civilization itself will be preserved.

[WTNH–TV8 telecast]

SENATOR DODD TRIBUTE

The career in public service of THOMAS J. DODD covered almost four decades.

To the news media, to the public in general . . . he was not just a "controversial figure" in recent years . . . he was always that.

That can mean, after all, the willingness to be outspoken, to call things as deeply-felt . . . no matter whose feathers are ruffled, whose toes are stepped on. With the controversies of recent years, it became easy for some to forget the forward-thinking activities of THOMAS J. DODD over all of these four decades past.

Take one area . . . civil rights . . . and the extent of active involvement by so many concerned people today. Regardless of other considerations, all must remember what men such as TOM DODD did starting back in the 1930's . . . "maverick" and "unpopular" things which laid the groundwork for the gains of many years later.

"Maverick" and "crusader" labels came to him for starting things rolling in so many "right-now" problems; narcotics, gun control, youth-and-crime . . . and standing up to party leadership—to be a public voice for the common man.

Fierce devotion remained strong; over a quarter of a million named him their choice for Senate last fall.

Among all the tributes voiced today . . . his role was perhaps best described by an opponent: THOMAS J. DODD could identify so well with a vital person in America . . . the so-called average, independent-thinking voter; the one who found it hard to identify with the more "traditional" men in political life . . . and often, therefore, would not have been as active in the political process.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of Senator TOM DODD the people of Connecticut have lost a great friend and servant, the people of the Nation have lost one of their finest statesmen, and we in the Congress have lost a colleague. THOMAS J. DODD was a member of the House for 4 years and it was my privilege to know him intimately. I join my colleagues and the people of Connecticut in paying tribute to a man who gave his full measure to the job of serving the public. THOMAS J. DODD represents a tradition of courage and determination which has endeared him to the people he represented, and which secures for him a place in the annals of American democracy. TOM DODD's life and work is exemplary of the individual spirit which has forged America's greatness and which will insure our greatness for the future.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, TOM DODD was a man committed to public life, proud of his patriotism and proud to serve his country. A tireless worker, he was a fighter for causes in which he believed.

His crusades first focused nationwide attention on such issues as juvenile delinquency, civil rights, crime, gun controls, and drug abuse. On each of these issues, TOM DODD—the man known as the Crusader from Connecticut—gave no quarter until he has seen a cause through to the end. From his days with the Division of Investigation, the forerunner of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, TOM DODD knew firsthand crime's causes and effects. As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, his vast knowledge helped formulate omnibus legislation to stem delinquency and drug abuse.

His fame, justly earned, as a Nuremberg prosecutor, was a further highlight of TOM DODD's distinguished and dedicated public service.

Yet, with all his national and international acclaim, TOM DODD's heart and soul remained in his beloved Connecticut, striving faithfully to serve the needs of his constituents back home, TOM DODD and his wife, Grace, lived in the district I now represent and will long be remembered with particular fondness by the people of eastern Connecticut, his first and his final home.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, TOM DODD served the Senate and the Nation with dedication and distinction, and his early death is a sad loss. A very able Representative of his State of Connecticut during his 4 years in the House and 12 years in the Senate, he compiled a record that will be remembered by our Nation with respect and gratitude.

Former Senator DODD gave his whole life to public service. As an FBI agent, Connecticut director of the National Youth Administration, Justice Department attorney, prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, and in Congress, his outstanding leadership put him in the forefront of the guardians of America's safety. His courageous and steadfast advocacy of gun control played a vital role in the enactment of the first comprehensive gun control law in 1968. Likewise, his work in drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, and crime has helped make America a safer place for all our citizens.

TOM DODD was a stanch believer in individual freedom, human dignity, and the need to oppose tyranny and oppression. He was always concerned about the policy that would best advance freedom, the policy that would best convince world communism that aggression would not be permitted to succeed, and the policy that would best guarantee the security of our Nation. Conciliation and convenience had no place in his philosophy, for when TOM DODD cast his vote on the great issues confronting our country, conscience and principle were his only guides. Nothing could deter him from the course he deemed right for America, and although oftentimes his fight against communism was a lonely one, his steadfastness of purpose never faltered.

Mr. Speaker, it is always a tragedy when our Nation loses such a dedicated public servant as THOMAS DODD, but those, like myself, who knew him personally as a warm human being and as a loyal and generous friend, particularly mourn his absence.

Mrs. Annunzio joins me in extending to his widow, Mrs. Grace Dodd, and to the other members of his devoted family, our heartfelt sympathy on their bereavement.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I join today with my colleagues in paying tribute to a man of bravery and devotion who served with honor in both Houses of the Congress of the United States.

THOMAS J. DODD served the people of Connecticut and the Nation as a whole with distinction as a Member of the House in the 83d and 84th Congresses, and then in the Senate from 1958 to 1970. His service in the Congress culminated a career as an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, an attorney, and prosecutor, at home and abroad.

TOM DODD was a man who hated crime and violence whether it was on a local or international level. He believed that people had a right—the legal and God-given right—to live in peace and freedom, free from fear.

I think there is no question in either House of the Congress that the legislation existing today to control deadly firearms is traceable to TOM DODD. This was a passion of his life and the people of the United States are a lot safer due to his efforts.

He has passed to his reward now. But we shall never forget him and the good he accomplished for his country.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join my colleagues in honoring the memory of the late Senator THOMAS J. DODD, who is also remembered here in the House of Representatives before being elected to the other body.

It was my privilge to work with Senator DODD on numerous governmental and civic assignments, in which he consistently displayed intense interest in the well-being of our country, and special concern over the challenges from abroad.

He was a dedicated American patriot in a period when the very foundations of our country were being attacked by individuals and groups who, unknowingly or deliberately, were trying to undermine the history and traditions of our country. He was a man of strong convictions and was convinced that the United States must ever remain alert to the dangers of communism. Throughout his career, first in the House and then in the Senate, he was a dynamic legislator and spokesman in foreign affairs.

TOM DODD was also a very pleasant, warm, and gracious individual whom many of us were privileged to know as a friend rather than just as a colleague in the legislative branch.

Mr. Speaker, TOM DODD served his State and Nation in a most effective fashion and the United States has lost one of its soundest statesmen with the passing of Senator DODD.

Mrs. Derwinski joins me in extending condolences and sympathy to the Senator's widow, Grace, and his family.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, as a friend of Senator THOMAS J. DODD during the time I have been a Congressman I would like to comment on the achievements of this "Crusader from Connecticut."

Senator DODD was known as a fighter against two major evils facing America. He fought the external threat of international communism and, internally, the threat of crime—especially youth crime. He made contributions in the fight against the attempts by world communism to subvert America and the free world. While others in Congress became hysterical over the Communist threat, TOM DODD was levelheaded in his approach to the problem which was epitomized by his work in achieving the nuclear test ban treaty. And while I applaud his work in this area, I feel his major contribution to America was his fight against our internal threat—juvenile delinquency and youth crime, drug addiction, firearms controls, and his attempts in his final years to eliminate prison horrors and create a true system of juvenile justice.

It was typical of TOM DODD in his passing that his family requested that instead of flowers, contributions be made to Altruism House in New London, Conn., a residential treatment center for his State's young drug addicts.

It was also typical of TOM DODD that in his last days as a U.S. Senator he interrupted a bitterly contested senatorial campaign to conduct public hearings on the raging heroin epidemic in Vietnam that was killing our troops at the rate of two a day. His political career drawing to an end, his physical strength drained from the rigors of a vigorous campaign and a heart attack, he summoned enough strength and energy to warn the people of the United States of the rampant drug disaster facing our young soldiers in Southeast Asia.

TOM DODD is gone, but he has left a legacy to the youth of America in the form of 10 major Federal laws—one for each year as chair-

man of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, a record which his wife and children can be proud of.

My closest relationship with Senator DODD was in the area of firearms controls. We worked together in 1963 when we introduced the first mail order gun laws in the Senate and House; and, we continued the fight for gun legislation through a turbulent 5 years that saw the murder of 50,000 Americans including a beloved President, a famous Senator, and an adored civil rights leader. DODD the fighter took up the challenge of Federal firearms controls in the face of a bitter and resourceful gun lobby. And despite the fact that his State was the reservoir of 90 percent of the gun manufacturers in the United States, he fought for passage of the Gun Control Act of 1968.

The American people owe a debt of gratitude to TOM DODD for the loved ones that have been saved because of this excellent piece of legislation. But there were other laws, perhaps not as dramatic, but just as important, that will make America a better place for young people in the years to come and for which I salute Senator DODD today.

As the chairman of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Senator DODD presided over a decade of fine legislative achievements.

The subcommittee was an important tool of the Senate in the war against crime.

It was important for the young people of this Nation.

On a personal level it was important to Senator DODD because it represented a sizable portion of his life's work and his service to America.

In one way or another since February of 1961 when he became chairman of the subcommittee he was involved in every major piece of delinquency control legislation that has come out of Congress.

It was Senator DODD's early proposals which lead to the passage of the first Federal juvenile delinquency law, the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961. That act became the first major Federal program to fight delinquency and, in fact, a blueprint for the national war on poverty and on crime sponsored by the Johnson administration.

One of the areas of his work that Senator Dodd was most proud of was in the field of narcotics and dangerous drugs.

During the time he was chairman of that subcommittee he conducted 40 days of public hearings on narcotics, dangerous drugs, marhiuana, peyote, and LSD. He took testimony from 167 witnesses ranging from addicts and convicts, through doctors, lawyers, attorneys general, and governors. He heard from experts at every step along the way.

As a direct result of that effort on July 8, 1965, the Congress adopted the Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965, which established the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It was charged with protecting our young people from the unregulated traffic in literally billions of dangerous drugs such as the amphetamines, the barbiturates, LSD, and other drugs. This legislation was proceeded by years of investigations and hearings by Senator Dodd and his subcommittee.

The Bureau of Drug Abuse Control was merged with the Federal Bureau of Narcotics of the Treasury Department and by an Executive order of President Johnson was moved to the Justice Department as the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. That means one-half of the Federal law enforcement personnel in existence today are a result of the 1965 bill.

If arrest figures and convictions are any measure of an act's effectiveness, and I believe this to be so, then the 1965 amendments Senator Dodd fought for have been successful.

For example, in fiscal year 1968, arrests nearly doubled over the previous year, and convictions showed a three-fold increase for the same period.

The number of illicit dosage units of these drugs seized by Federal agents provides further evidence of the effectiveness of the 1965 act. The total number of units seized varied from some 9 million in 1967 to some 16 million in 1970, with 2 peak years in between during which some 33 million were seized in 1968 and some 29 million in 1969.

Senator Dodd could take great pride in the fact that the 1965 act has proven to be most effective with regard to curbing diversions

from the upper echelons of the chain of distribution down to the youthful drug abuser on the streets of America.

After extensive hearings in 1962, and with broad bipartisan support, Senator DODD introduced Senate Joint Resolution 65, calling for the establishment of a joint Mexican-American Commission to get at one of the prime sources of the illicit narcotics on the American market.

After extensive public hearings on the same subject in 1965, and again in 1966, he introduced a similar resolution. In April of 1966, at the request of the Administration, his subcommittee convened a meeting of Federal, State, and local officials in San Diego, Calif., to assess drug smuggling along the Mexican border.

In addition, Senator DODD conducted personal discussions on the problem with high-ranking Mexican public officials and civic leaders.

All of these efforts bore fruit with recent moves by the Mexican and United States Government to establish and expand marihuana and opium poppy field eradication programs.

DODD's subcommittee played a major role in the White House Conference on Narcotics in 1961. Of the recommendations to come out of that conference one was the establishment of a Joint Mexican-American Commission on Narcotics and the other was that the Congress enact the Drug Abuse Control Amendments which the Senator originally introduced in early 1961.

The Connecticut Senator introduced the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966. The Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee held extensive hearings on it and helped pass into law this legislation which for the first time enabled federally convicted heroin addicts to get back on their feet rather than make them rot in prison.

This subcommittee helped write the congressional guidelines for the Drug Penalty Amendments of 1968 which raised penalties for the then rampaging traffic in LSD.

Senator DODD's subcommittee began investigating the current drug problem in addition to reevaluating the Federal laws relating to narcotics in early 1968. Hearings were held in March of 1968 and they resulted in the introduction by TOM DODD of the Omnibus Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Control and Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1969. This bill was a recodification of all existing Federal

drug laws including the outdated 1956 Narcotic Act, and the 1965 drug amendments. It was the most comprehensive Federal law ever proposed and covered every phase of the drug traffic and abuse problem.

After 18 months of hearings and debate in the Senate and House, this bill was signed into law by the President on October 27, 1970, and is now known as the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970.

Senator DODD also introduced the latest Federal delinquency bill—Public Law 90–445—the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968 which is an extention of the original 1961 act, and again, the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee devoted a great deal of time in perfecting and amending this law.

All of these bills represented new, sometimes novel approaches to the control of crime and delinquency.

Some of these measures were opposed by special interests.

Title IV, the firearms section of the Omnibus Crime bill and the Gun Control Act of 1968 were passed after years of stressful confrontations with the firearms industry, the National Rifle Association, and other interest groups.

The early drug bills proposed by Senator DODD and incorporated into the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act were fought bitterly by the drug industry as was the recent act.

Yet these measures were determined to be necessary by TOM DODD through painstaking investigation and research by his staff and the members of his subcommittee. They were enacted to help save lives and to preserve the health of our young people.

Between 1961 and 1964 the Senator investigated the television industry with the goal of protecting children from the excessive violence that existed in many shows. These hearings had a profound effect on the television industry's penchant for mayhem and while there is still violence on TV today, recent surveys show that the levels of crime, violence, and brutality are significantly lower than in the early 1960's.

In 1967 the Dodd subcommittee studied the staggering auto theft problem which faced the Nation. They found that auto theft was usually the first step on the road to crime for thousands of young

Americans and that there were ways to make cars much more theft-proof. Many of the new antitheft devices on today's automobiles were the result of that investigation. In addition, the exposé of the criminal traffic in automobile master keys resulted in legislation prescribing criminal penalties for the illegal manufacture and interstate distribution of such master keys.

In 1967 the Dodd subcommittee was responsible for the passage of a law to control the growing flood of obscene and pornographic materials which was reaching into American homes, unwanted by both children and adults, by way of the U.S. mails. As a result of the subcommittee hearings a measure was signed into law which allowed the postal patron legal recourse against the mail order smut merchants who operated through the anonymity of a sealed envelope. An example of the effectiveness of this law is seen by the fact that 292,679 persons requested, and got, stop orders issued to mailers of pornography in 1969.

In late 1968 the Dodd subcommittee launched an extensive investigation of the conditions in correctional and other confinement institutions for juvenile and criminal offenders.

The subcommittee held 23 days of hearings and heard 51 witnesses. To help correct the serious defects that exist in institutions in every part of the country Senator Dodd developed comprehensive legislative measure, S. 2905, to aid States and localities in prison reform, in the development of rehabilitation programs and in the construction of more adequate facilities.

The depth and intensity of the subcommittee's investigation in this field has led to a major breakthrough with respect to public recognition of the critical need for improvement of the conditions under which this society confines offenders.

In 1970 the subcommittee brought to national attention an investigation with respect to drug abuse in the military that had begun in 1966. These hearings made the Congress and the American people painfully aware of the frightening consequences of the drug problem we face. The subcommittee unveiled the fact that thousands of drugged soldiers, seamen and airmen posed a threat to our very

security and DODD recommended drastic steps to come to grips with the problem.

As a result of this investigation Senator DODD introduced leglislation that would establish a far-reaching humane program for the improvement of the handling of military drug abusers.

In one of his last statements as a public official, Senator DODD said he considered the handling of drug abusers one of the most important tasks facing this Nation. He stated:

> It is these individuals who contribute to the serious problem of human pollution in our society.
>
> Unless we take greater pains in correcting offenders, unless we treat and rehabilitate those dependent on drugs, we allow them to contaminate and afflict others with crime and drug abuse.
>
> This is the situation today when prisons and training schools provide graduate education in criminality and when our ineptness in managing drug abusers causes the victims of this menace to multiply in near epidemic proportions.
>
> I need not add that the majority of victims in either case are young people.

And that is what Senator DODD was concerned about—our young people in trouble.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the measure of a man is the total impact he leaves on those who come after him. I am certain that history will record that THOMAS JOSEPH DODD'S service to his country was exceptional and that he was one of the truly great lawmakers in the history of the U.S. Congress.

Senator DODD was a controversial man. But out of the controversy I have seen much good accrue to his beloved United States of America. I send his family my sympathy at their loss, my admiration for their loyalty to him in his time of trial, and my respect for the mark of greatness that was in him.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in this well merited tribute to our former colleague and my dear friend the late U.S. Representative and Senator, THOMAS J. DODD of Connecticut.

As one who felt highly privileged in his friendship, I was deeply saddened at the news of his sudden and untimely death.

In private life TOM DODD was widey recognized as an able and distinguished lawyer, who consistently conducted himself in accord with the highest traditions of the legal profession.

The last 16 years of his life was spent in the U.S. Congress. Throughout this service, he was universally esteemed and respected for his exceptional legislative knowledge and leadership; he was admired for his steadfast political convictions and he was acclaimed for his patriotic dedication.

TOM DODD's legislative record clearly reveals him to have been a gifted congressional leader who daily expended every ounce of his extraordinary talents and diligence in honorably serving his country and constituents. For his most effective work and accomplishments in the special legislative area of crime control and correction, this Nation will forever remain indebted to him.

However, far above and beyond his legislative achievements, he was beloved for his humble attitude, his patient tolerance, his compassionate understanding and his generous heart.

In simple summary, TOM DODD was a decent man, a good neighbor, and a steadfast friend, who will be long and sorely missed by all his associates and the numberless individuals he willingly and happily helped throughout his public and private life.

My deepest sympathy goes out to his devoted and courageous wife, Grace, and to their wonderful children. I know all of the Members of this House join in our prayer that the good Lord will grant His heavenly peace to the great soul of our beloved colleague and friend.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I knew TOM DODD both in times of triumph and in times of trouble, and he was a man of great warmth, great compassion, great courage and great humility.

He had an extraordinary public career, having been one of those who established the Justice Department's first Civil Rights Section. He was a distinguished lawyer and was awarded a Presidential Citation and the Medal of Freedom for his work as executive trial counsel at Nuremberg. As a Member of the Senate from the State of Connecticut, he was an acknowledged leader on a number of important issues, including gun control and prison reform. He identified drug

abuse as a major national problem many years ago. He was a man committed to freedom and democracy.

His life and his career were strengthened by the love and devotion of his gracious wife, Grace, and I pray that the affection of those of us who served with TOM DODD could in some way lessen her sorrow. May I extend to her and to her children my most heartfelt condolences.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in expressing sadness in the death of a former Member of this House with whom I served, Senator THOMAS J. DODD of Connecticut.

TOM DODD and I were elected to the 83d Congress on the same day, November 4, 1952, from neighboring congressional districts in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and served together in this House for the next 4 years. We worked closely together on Connecticut River Valley problems and I found him always to be most helpful and cooperative. We were not only working colleagues but good friends.

A courageous fighter for causes in which he believed, TOM DODD will long be remembered for his advocacy of gun control legislation, leading to passage by the Congress in 1968 of the first comprehensive gun control law; his fight against drugs and the leading role he played in the adoption of a major revision in the Nation's drug control laws; and his fight for the enactment of comprehensive crime control legislation.

TOM DODD had a record in both the House and later in the Senate of strong liberal positions and votes on social and economic issues and on legislation to help the people of his State and the Nation.

He had a brilliant career in public service, first as an FBI agent, then as Connecticut director of the National Youth Administration, later as an assistant to the U.S. Attorneys General for 7 years, and after the end of World War II as principal prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials.

Mr. Speaker, I join with other Members of the House in extending my profound sympathy to Senator DODD's devoted wife, Grace, and to his fine children.

WEDNESDAY, *June 9, 1971.*

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate myself with the remarks and tributes which have been paid to the late Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut.

THOMAS DODD and I entered the House of Representatives as freshmen in the 83d Congress. Although we did not always agree on matters before the Congress, I always greatly admired his forthrightness, determination, and willingness to take a stand, popular or not, on subjects which he felt to be of paramount importance to the well-being of our country. This determination and forthrightness was especially evident in matters of national security. His loyalty and devotion to our country are beyond question.

Senator DODD's patriotism and outstanding public service to our Nation are credits to his memory. I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to a highly dedicated American and a kind personal friend. Mrs. Flynt joins me in extending our condolences and deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dodd and their family.

FRIDAY, *June 11, 1971.*

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I sadly join my colleagues in tribute to the late Honorable THOMAS J. DODD. I was always proud that TOM DODD was a longtime, close friend of mine and his passing came as a deep personal shock. TOM was a warm, fine man. A man who believed in people and tried to help them. He fought for civil rights long before the fighting for them was popular. In 16 years with the Department of Justice, where he was special assistant to five Attorneys General, he prosecuted cases against the Ku Klux Klan and against those who would deny laboring men the right to organize into unions. He served as an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was executive trial counsel during the Nazi war trials at Nuremberg and served two terms in the House of Representatives before being elected to the other body. He supported legislation dealing with civil rights, welfare programs, housing, medicare, unemploy-

ment compensation, social security improvements, relaxation of restrictive immigration laws, drug abuse prevention, and gun controls. He was also a man who knew adversity and its heartaches and we shared some of these with him, for he was a friend. Mr. Speaker, TOM'S many true friends will miss him. To his lovely wife, Grace, and their children we extend our deepest sympathy and prayers in their time of great loss.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I speak today in tribute to TOM DODD, a most able colleague who later became an outstanding Member of the other body. He had one of the keenest minds I have known, with the unique quality of translating the orderly cogency of his thoughts into beautifully lucid prose. A brilliant lawyer whose talents were recognized throughout the world. A man of spartan courage whose integrity and honor could not be tarnished by the calumnous hypocrisy of certain of those he had called friends. A devoted family man whose love and respect permeated his home. TOM DODD was all of these and will be so remembered in history. But most of all, I shall remember him as my true, close friend.

Born in Norwich, Conn., THOMAS J. DODD graduated from Providence College in 1930 and Yale University Law School in 1933. He entered the service of his country as an FBI agent that same year. After serving 2 years with the FBI, TOM returned to Connecticut to organize and serve as the first director of the National Youth Administration in his home State. In 1938, he became an assistant to another distinguished Connecticut lawyer, the U.S. Attorney General, Homer S. Cummings, and continued as an assistant to the four succeeding Attorneys General until 1945.

In that position, TOM DODD espoused and fought for a cause 20 years before it achieved national support. Organizing the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, he personally prosecuted cases against the Ku Klux Klan and fought for labor's right to organize in the South.

During World War II, a leader in the exposure of subversion and industrial sabotage, TOM played a major role in the Government's campaign against the Nazi Fifth Column. When the war was over,

he was asked by his former chief, then Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson, to serve as executive trial counsel at the Nazi trials in Nuremberg. The results of his work there earned him recognition and awards from his own and foreign governments.

It was in Nuremberg that TOM learned first hand of Communist duplicity enabling him later to be a leader in anti-Communist ranks. His was a lone and prophetic voice warning against the true meaning of the possible victory of the guerrilla leader Castro fighting in Cuba. If TOM DODD's words had been heeded, we would not now have the Communists in control 90 miles off our shores.

Returning to his home State after Nuremberg, TOM entered private practice in 1947 and 5 years later was elected to the House, where he served two terms. After an unsuccessful try in 1956, he was elected to the Senate in 1958 and reelected in 1964. In the Congress, TOM DODD carried on as the crusader he had always been. For all legislation that was aimed at improving the quality of life and environment of the country he loved, he stood and was counted.

Since leaving the Senate in January, TOM had resumed his private practice. It was my good fortune that he visited with me regularly, including recent visits here in Washington. It just does not seem possible that his warm camaraderie, his wise counsel will never again bless those fortunate enough to have been his friends.

To his six good and devoted children, Tom, Jr., Carolyn, Jeremy, Martha, Christopher, and Nicholas, and to his loving, loyal wife, Grace, my special thoughts. I know that TOM DODD's courage, the love of his God and his church, of his country, and his family, by which he lived, will fill their hearts forever and give them the strength to live their lives as he would want them to. I shall miss TOM DODD. Everyone whose life he touched will miss him.

MONDAY, *June 14, 1971.*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it was with the deepest sense of sorrow that I mourned the death of my good friend TOM DODD. Senator DODD devoted nearly half of his life to public service and to representing his constituents. I am only too sad that he was unable to enjoy a little longer, his leisure and time with his family.

Though there is little that I can say that will lessen the profound feeling of grief over his loss, I sincerely extend my deepest felt sympathy to his grieving family and to his friends.

Mr. McKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, from time to time, men of insight walk among us, men who see before others see, warn us of danger before it is upon us; unusual men, men of foresight, men of vision, men of whom we see too few in a generation.

Mr. Speaker, THOMAS J. DODD was one of these men. As a champion of civil rights, a prosecutor of Nazis, a distinguished Member of this House, and a two-term Member of the other body. TOM DODD devoted most of his adult life to the service of people, all of the people but most importantly those in his beloved Connecticut.

His resoluteness and steadfastness to his beliefs won him the respect of those he came in contact with, though they may occasionally disagree, they did not deny him his courage.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, he has now passed from our midst. He served long and he was willing to give more. He will be missed by many. Mrs. McKinney has joined me in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Dodd and her family.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, when the 83d Congress convened, there were among their number many outstanding newly elected Representatives. One of the most promising of the new Congressmen was THOMAS J. DODD of Hartford, Conn. Mr. DODD's varied public service career gave him a wealth of experience in meeting the legislative challenges of the early fifties.

After receiving his law degree from Yale University in 1933, THOMAS DODD took the advice of the late Homer S. Cummings, then Attorney General, and joined the Federal Bureau of Investigation. During his 2 years of service with the FBI, he was assigned the task of pursuing the notorious John Dillinger, and it was Agent DODD who tracked down and arrested "Doc" May, the ganster physician who treated Dillinger for wounds sustained in a gunfight with Federal agents.

But the thirties were a time of grave economic crisis, and Mr. DODD soon sought to be of more direct assistance to the jobless. Consequently, he resigned from the FBI and returned to Connecticut in

1935 to set up the National Youth Administration in that State. He served as the organization's first director.

After several years in that capacity, Mr. Dodd returned to Washington where he served under several attorneys general in the Justice Department. His years in the Justice Department were marked by many outstanding contributions to the cause of equal enforcement of the law. He helped establish the Department's Civil Rights Section. Mr. Dodd was particularly zealous in fighting the Ku Klux Klan in the Deep South, where he also championed labor's right to organize and to bargain collectively.

During World War II, he was active in investigating espionage and sabotage, and he was credited with helping crush the Nazi fifth column which was operating in this country. Following that terrible conflict, he was chosen by Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson to be the executive trial counsel for the prosecution at the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals. For his work at the trial, Mr. Dodd received a Presidential citation and the Medal of Freedom.

It was also at the Nuremberg trials that Mr. Dodd developed a deep and abiding mistrust of communism. During the course of the trial, Soviet prosecutors attempted to blame the Nazis for the massacre of 15,000 captured Polish officers at Katyn forest, a massacre which Mr. Dodd and many authorities attributed to the Russians themselves. Although Mr. Dodd had been appalled by what he called "history's most horrible catalog of human crime," his sense of justice, even in these circumstances would not allow him to add one more outrage to the growing list of Nazi atrocities.

Years later, as Mr. Dodd served both in the House and the Senate, he was to remain an outspoken critic of Communist aggression and an advocate of American strength in foreign affairs. Although he was greatly interested in the American position abroad, Mr. Dodd showed equal concern for domestic matters. He consistently supported civil rights and welfare legislation, including housing for the poor, medicare, unemployment compensation, increased social security benefits, and relaxation of immigration laws. He was particularly noted for his sponsorship of gun control legislation, and his efforts were a decided factor in obtaining the present law in that field.

For years, he also sponsored drug control legislation, and he was

the principal Senate sponsor of the Drug-Abuse Prevention Act which went into effect this last year. Senator DODD's long and varied career of public service will be remembered for many years. The outstanding contributions which he made to this country will always be admired and respected. Today I would like to take this opportunity to extend my sincere condolences to Mrs. Dodd and the family in the loss which they have sustained. My hope is that they will find comfort in the fact that he was admired by many and that his achievements remain as a lasting tribute to a man who spent most of his life in generous service to the Nation he loved.

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